



Princess Anne and the Queen Mother go off in their carriage to watch the Grenadier Guards at today's Trooping the Colour ceremony. The Queen took the salute.

Admit boy hospital Sir Keith

Derek Humphry

Minister, Sir Keith personally ordered a boy back to hospital with his discharge and started a row about in which patients are. A conference will be at Bartholomew's Hospital, to decide what went in the case of Peter, a 17-year-old spina bifida. He had been in St. Bartholomew's Hospital for months when the his parents then he him home. His that they could

Row over Vatican plan

By Muriel Bowen

A 50-PAGE document that could have the effect of upturning the movement for reform in the Roman Catholic Church is stirring up a world-wide conflict between the church's progressives and the old-guard forces of the Vatican.

The document, the draft of a constitution that would lay down fundamental law controlling the relations between the papal hierarchy, the priesthood and the church's lay members. It has been drawn up by a committee of Vatican lawyers and theologians under the leadership of the arch-conservative advisers, 59-year-old Cardinal Pericle Felici.

Progressives in the church are alarmed. Work on the draft began 12 years ago as a result of the late Pope John's movement for an *aggiornamento* or updating of the church-at the progres-

sives say that their demands for dynamic change based on "democratic" regional initiative and experiment are completely ignored.

Cardinal Felici and his team have produced a draft that upholds the medieval concept of a fixed society under rigid central control by the Vatican. "The basic thinking behind this draft constitution," says one of its critics, Father Karl Rahner, an influential German theologian, "is very backward-looking."

Father Rahner, whose thinking has great influence on many bishops, says the draft is strongly biased toward the Curia—the Vatican Civil Service. "It says nothing about the role of the

people in the church, on the basic rights of the individual" and must be "very radically changed."

The Vatican hopes to have the draft approved at the world synod of bishops in Rome in October. The draft is now being studied by the church's 3,000 bishops and their advisers. The bishops of England and Wales will debate it in September, and are not making public comments on it. But many bishops in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, the US and Canada are known to be determined to fight Cardinal Felici's forces.

Some sharp theological sword-play can be expected. In Italy itself, the Vatican draft has been attacked by the University of Bologna's revered Institute of Religious Studies.

The potatoes of wrath

Irish workers flee from Scottish farms

By Tom Davies

IRISH potato pickers working in Scotland have been virtually imprisoned in dirty huts and ill-treated and beaten up when they tried to leave, according to a startling report which was sent last week to the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland and the Irish Government.

The report is by two priests in Scotland, Father Michael Walsh and Father Michael Cassidy, who set up "escape" machinery to help some of the workers to return to Ireland.

At the centre of this storm are the activities of five brothers from County Mayo — Michael, John, Patrick, Martin and Tommy Nevin — who, for the past eight years, have recruited about 500 workers a year in the depressed farming areas of Western Ireland and shipped them via Larne and Stranraer to work in the fields of Ayrshire and Lothian.

The brothers charge a farmer £36 an acre for picking his crops. There is, however, no reason to think that any farmer knew the conditions under which Nevin's men were working.

The Nevins operate about 10 squads in Scotland but, although the season will start soon, an extensive tour through the Scottish Lothians last week failed to discover their whereabouts. At South Belton in East Lothian a neighbour said that John Nevin had left two days previously. At Bilsdean, East Lothian, a row of cottages where Michael Nevin has been living was deserted and a Land-Rover abandoned.

At the home of Tommy Nevin at Birnieknowes, Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, a neighbour reported that he had not been seen for 10 days and Patrick and Martin Nevin have recently left Pathhead, in Midlothian.

The Sunday Times has documented the case histories of five men who were hired by the Nevins brothers. One is now back in his home in Donegal and the other four are working in Edinburgh. They all escaped from their second or third attempt from camps in isolated farming country.

Geoffrey Smith, aged 18, of Ballyragget, County Kilkenny, started work a year ago for the Nevins at a farm at Ford, Midlothian. He

changed farms three times and picked a variety of crops.

He said: "Some were all right but the botchy (cottage) in this farm near Dunbar was like a pigsty. The roof was falling in, there was no room to walk and the bath water was cold. One time I tried to escape, but one of Nevin's men chased me in a van and brought me back."

"Another time I got as far as the outskirts of Edinburgh with my two mates when we were again caught by a van. I tried to climb over the gate of a cemetery, but was caught and forced back into the van. When I got back to the botchy one of the men punched me on the chest and kicked me."

"Frequently I was assaulted on the potato field while the rest of the squad watched too scared to help. Another time I escaped in Ayrshire and slept rough for three nights, but was eventually caught walking along a country road with John Nevin coming towards me in one direction and his wife Mary coming from the other."

"Once I was taken to hospital in Dunbar with a swollen jaw and severe bruising. My insurance card was never stamped. I received 'subs' amounting to about £13 a week and finally managed to escape from a farm in Duns in Berwickshire and took a bus to Father Walsh's home in Dunbar where, the following day, I met David Casey, Joseph O'Brien and Edward Conway."

Joseph O'Brien, aged 22, of Limerick, said that he had been told to expect lots of women and free drink, but instead found himself working from 5.30 am to 8.30 pm for seven days a week. "At the botchy near Dunbar there were 20 bunk beds in a small space in which there were 30 to 40 youngsters around the age of 17, including girls. I tried to leave the farm once, but was brought back and had my suitcase taken away for a week."

"Casey, Conway and me escaped on a Saturday night when the gaffers and most of the squad went for a drink at Dunbar. Conway and me went to the town leaving Casey behind. He did not drink so it did not look sus-

picious when he stayed behind. "Conway and I left the farm at half past six and it was agreed that Casey would later come along with our suitcases. We met at Father Walsh's house at 9 o'clock. We had met him the week before at Mass and he had agreed to help us escape and fix us up with a job and a place to live."

Father Walsh took the three men to Father Cassidy's house at Ford where they spent the night. The following day they met up with Smith and, after being given money, were driven to Edinburgh. Father Walsh and Father Cassidy have helped about 30 people—often out of their own pockets—to find other places to live in the past few years.

Perhaps the most spectacular escape was organised for 24-year-old Donald Carr, who is now in Glasgow. "Any letters I was sending to my parents had to be handed in for inspection lest any reference to the treatment I was getting was mentioned."

"I saw boys being beaten with long cabbage stalks and others being beaten and kicked. One Friday evening I was told to get dressed and pack up and that I would be left at Edinburgh station where I could meet another Donegal boy who could accompany me home."

"I went into a van, but instead of being brought to the station I was brought to another camp in the wilds of the country. I was

dragged out of the van and told to get into the camp."

"One Sunday I went to Mass and told Father Walsh of my conditions. He took me to a room with the blinds drawn. Later I was taken in a car to Edinburgh airport and booked on a flight to Belfast."

Only a few hundred yards from one of the farms worked by the Nevins, a retired farm worker described the conditions as "absolute slavery." He said he had seen a young girl being brutally beaten in the potato fields.

The report by Father Walsh and Father Cassidy follows two months of backstage political and diplomatic activity on behalf of the pickers. The Irish Embassy in London has sent an officer to investigate in the Scottish potato areas.

Four days ago the Lothian and Peebles Constabulary completed a report on the alleged intimidation of the pickers (now with the Procurator Fiscal). The Department of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Department of Health and Social Security are also investigating.

In Ireland, too, the noise of alarm has been loud. One group of priests in Mayo has started calling a series of protest meetings.

The Roman Catholic Church is studying the report and a fuller version will be sent by Father Cassidy at the end of next week. The church will then decide what action to take.

Census 'leak' starts probe

MARTIN WHITAKER had his doubts about the census officials' promises of absolute secrecy. So when he filled in his form last April, he made a little experiment. He gave his name as Martin Scott.

Now Mr Whitaker, a 26-year-old businessman, has received a letter at his home in Moulford, Berkshire village, from Wallingford rural council. It is addressed to Mr M. Scott.

Mr Whitaker has demanded an explanation and apology. His form was stored with thousands of others at Wallingford council

offices. The council clerk, Mr Leslie Bullen, is also census officer for the area. He has been told to explain what happened.

The letter was a circular about a drainage scheme. A spokesman for the council said: "A typist preparing envelopes for the letters was asked to use the name of each resident instead of 'occupier'. She was advised to refer to rates records and the electoral register, and if that failed, to ask anyone who might be able to assist. She cannot remember where she got the name of Mr Scott."

Ambrose's day is done

AMBRIDGE, the leader whose name became household word, died in Leeds infirmary on Friday night. He was 70.

A hospital spokesman said he was admitted after collapsing at a television studio. He had a "serious abdominal condition."

Bert Ambrose whose signature tune was "Wh Day is Done," formed his band at 17. He became one of Britain's most celebrated balladeers during the check-to-check music era of the thirties.

After the 11 war, however, when big band found themselves struggling for existence in the new era of bit music, Ambrose faded with many other big band-leads.

Young 'lack mental aid'

THE "appalling lack of facilities" for the psychiatric treatment of adolescents is described in a report published today, writes Wendy Hughes. England and Wales alone are more than 1,600 beds short of the target set by the Ministry of Health in 1964, when it urged that regional hospital boards should provide special units for maladjusted and mentally ill adolescents.

According to the report by MIND (a group sponsored by the National Association for Mental Health) four regional hospital boards—Newcastle, Welsh, the North East and South West—have no beds available at all.

New hope for autistic young

The problems which Britain's 6,000 autistic children face when they reach adolescence are to be tackled by the National Society for Autistic Children, the society's annual general meeting in London was told yesterday.

Mr Geoffrey Dobson, chairman, said that the society is to lead a campaign to build a network of educational and workshop centres to help autistic children.

Sunday Times wins award

The Sunday Times last week won the award for the best television advertising campaign in the world at the American TV Commercial Festival in New York. It also won a "Clio" for the best individual commercial in its category, communications.

The commercials promoted various editorial features including The British Way of Love, The Heart, an insight investigation into date-coding of packaged food; and The History of Inventions. The company which made the films, and produced most of the scripts is Harling, Scott, Lawson, which won three "Clios."

Murder charge

Kevin Nelson, a 19-year-old apprentice painter of Guessens Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts, was remanded in custody yesterday until Friday charged with the murder of Liam Mullane, 35, whose body was found in a copse on Welwyn golf course on Friday.

Defiant marchers

Thousands of Protestants were planning last night to march today through the largely Roman Catholic town of Dungiven in County Londonderry, despite a last-minute appeal by the Presbyterian Church for cancellation of the march.

Court Circular

KENSINGTON PALACE
June 13, 1971
Prince William of Gloucester, President of the British Light Aviation Centre, visited the International Air Fair at Biggin Hill, Aerodrome today.

400th birthday

Prince Charles visited Jesus College, Oxford, yesterday—its 400th anniversary—and opened the Old Members' building.

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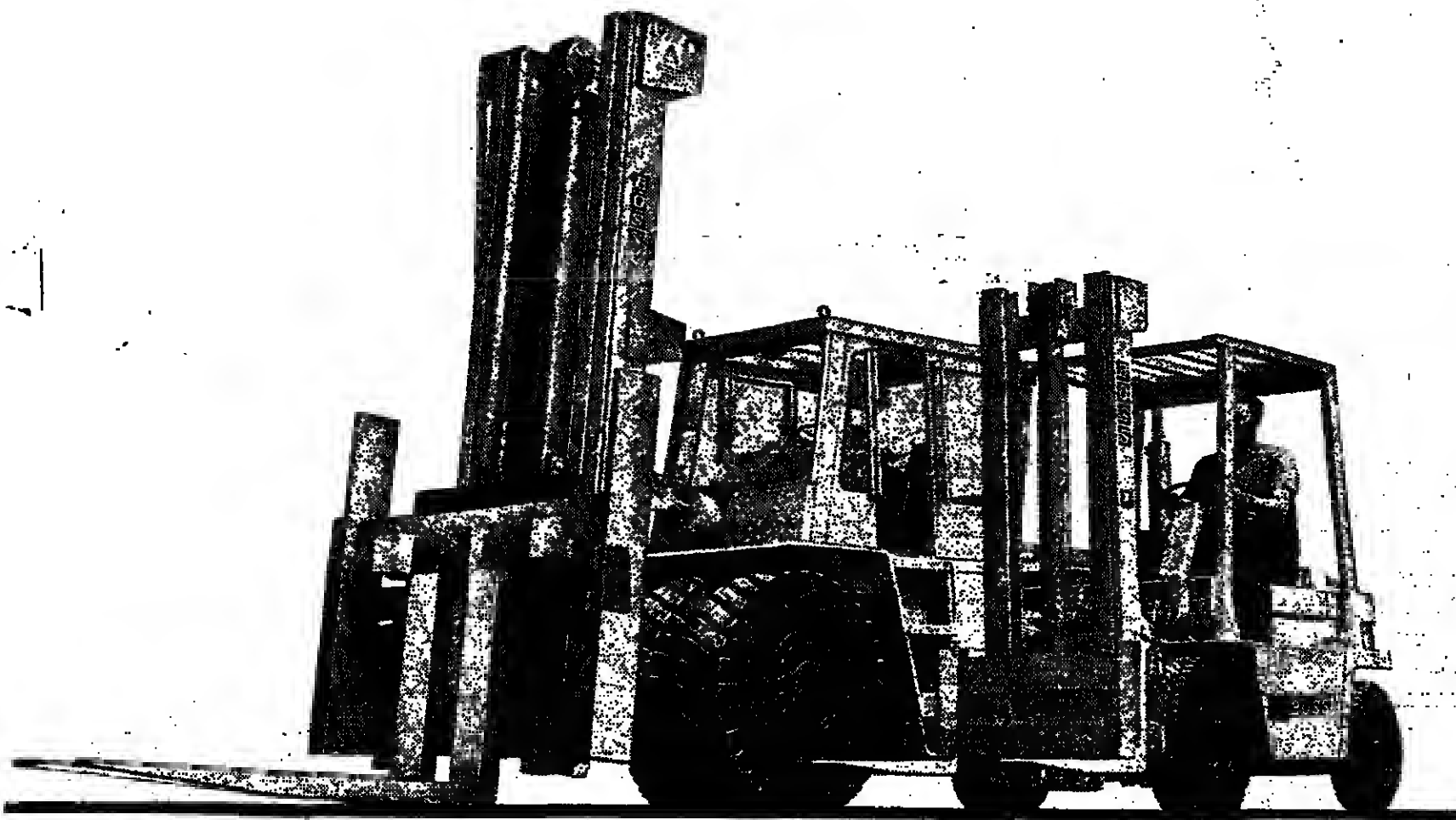
chassis. Manoeuvrability (which you'll need if space is tight) comes from newly-designed steering geometry.

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US evicts Indians of Alcatraz

AFTER a 19-month protest occupation, the handful of Indians left on the prison island of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay have finally been evicted in a police raid which they called "the traditional white man's double-cross," writes Ellsworth Jones.

The 15 Indians—six men, four women and five children—were the sad remnants of a 100-strong invasion force which originally occupied the island in protest against US Government policies towards the Indian peoples.

A lawyer for the Indians said they had been in secret negotiations with the Government over the island's future since April, but that "the end result was a betrayal. The Indians were put off guard, relaxed their security on the island, and mistakenly trusted the Government."

Wary of public opinion in San Francisco, which has generally run in favour of the Indians, the Government yesterday listed several reasons for the recapture, including the fact that the Indians had prevented construction from repairing a lighthouse on the island.

The final straw, a Government lawyer said, was the arrest of three Indians for the theft of copper from the island. "If there was any agreement to not remove them while negotiations were in progress, that went out of the window with this further theft of Government property," he said.

The Indians were yesterday regrouping their forces and threatening to retake the island. "Alcatraz is not an island, it's an ideal," a Mohawk leader said.



Lee: some puritan polemics

IN THE SECOND act last week of the melodrama of Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, versus the Singapore Press, there emerged as hit players a diplomat in a grass skirt, the CIA, an American woman sociologist destined for secret deportation, the Chase Manhattan Bank, and assorted trendy hippies.

The act was played before a tense, incredulous, and, for a time, admiring audience in the City Theatre at Helsinki, where 300 editors and publishers were meeting for the twentieth general assembly of the International Press Institute.

Mr Lee had accepted an invitation last January to address the Institute. Inconveniently, in the meantime he has closed down two English-language newspapers, the Eastern Sun (alleged to be secretly supported by Mao's money) and the Singapore Herald, and jailed four top men of the old-established Chinese-language paper Nanyang Siang Pau.

They were arrested in their beds in a classic dawn snoop on May 2, kept in solitary for three weeks without seeing families or lawyers, and now look like joining the 100 political prisoners held in Changi prison for years without charge or trial. They have merely been told, and vehemently deny,

Mr Lee blames it on Maoists, the CIA and the trendies

By a Special Correspondent, Helsinki

that they glorified Communist China and "stoked up emotions on Chinese language and culture."

Mr Lee's speech was as part of a panel on "The mass media seen by world policy makers" (the Prime Minister of Senegal and a crisp Mr Anthony Wedgwood Benn, standing in for Harold Wilson, were the other speakers). It was a brilliant piece of puritan polemics—as if, said one editor, Oliver Cromwell had had the benefit of Lee's Cambridge education and forensic skill. With convincing passion Lee denounced the cultural decadence of Western permissiveness which, pumped out by the mass media, would turn Singapore's population, half of it under 20, away from the virtues of thrift and discipline.

"The strange behaviour of demonstrators and violence-prone young men and women in wealthy America seen on TV and in the newspapers," he said, "are not relevant to the social and economic circumstance of new under-developed countries."

He would protect his population from this, and from the media's infections of mod styles, communal living, drugs, free love, hippyism, and from contemporary Western sexual morals where the Pill, all right for birth control, had also brought promiscuity, venereal

disease, exhibitionism, and a breakdown of the family.

There was some sympathy for Lee in this and especially for his argument that a measure of Press restriction might be a small price to pay for avoiding communal violence. Lee has been admired as a statesman who has brought stability to an almost ungovernable city state with Chinese, Indians, Malays and English (but 75% Chinese).

But when Lee came to answer questions the sympathy evaporated. Francis Wong, the ex-editor of the Herald, had conceded during the week that the Herald might have had lapses of taste. It had, for instance, published a picture of the West Samoan delegates attending the Commonwealth conference in national dress with a caption about midriff skirts which had upset Mr Lee (but amused the Samoans). It had, while deploring hippies, pointed out that people with long hair were not necessarily hippies. It had employed, in Adele Koh, a Malaysian BA, a singularly attractive feature writer who appeared at Helsinki in a mini with a cheong-sam split.

But the real reason that emerged for Mr Lee's displeasure was that the Herald had been stubborn about the Prime Minister's stealthy censorship.

When Miss Shirle Gordon, an American-born director of the Malaysian Social Research Institute, was being expelled from Singapore, the Prime Minister's Press Secretary, Mr Li Wei Chen, telephoned the Herald three times to tell them not to print the story. The third time he conveyed from Mr Lee the laconic message "Don't cross swords."

The Herald published and was promptly denied. Press releases and barred from Press conferences. For some of its reporting of the Commonwealth conference, and of complaints by negro sailors of discrimination in Singapore, it was later refused Government advertising and Government departments forbade their staff to bring the paper into their offices.

Mr Lee, under questions from editors from France, Denmark, England, Germany and Nigeria, scored debating points but did not explain how such ordinary non-trendy news threatened Singapore society, or why the rule of law was in suspense for imprisoned journalists. As one English editor later remarked: "Mr Lee won all the tricks but lost the game."

This impression was much reinforced later at a crowded Press conference. Among the questions put to Mr Lee was why he had allowed a Malaysian journalist to remain in prison eight years without trial. He answered that he was a Communist who had opposed "Federation" between Singapore and Malaya. Asked why he would not give the Nanyang men a fair trial, he said they would use the court as a political platform. When it was suggested that the trial could be in private instead, he said he might eventually sue them for libel for having called him rude Chinese names.

He attacked the "socialist" Amnesty International for concerning itself with prisoners in Singapore while caring nothing for the 200,000 prisoners in Indonesia. When told that Indonesia was forced to retract and also to withdraw the epithet "socialist."

He created a painful impression by his personal and unsubstantiated attacks on the character of journalists in Singapore who had resigned or lost their jobs because of Government pressures or who had been deported and by those who had openly invested money in the Singapore Herald with the consent of the Singapore Government. For example, the Malaysian High Commissioner to Australia, Mr Donald Stephens, who was the principle initial investor in the Herald, was said to have changed his religion for personal gain.

Mr Lee's familiar boggy of the CIA was paraded when he dealt with the Chase Manhattan Bank's loan to the Herald. "Why had it been unsecured?" (In fact, it was secured on the plant). On close questioning Mr Lee was forced to retract these allegations, but the CIA, he said darkly, was not the only American Government channel likely to interfere in Singapore newspapers.

To the editors in Helsinki, it seemed at the end of the week, that with the Herald, the charges of simultaneous Malaysian and American plotting were a smoke-screen to divert attention and in New York yesterday a spokesman for the Chase Manhattan bank said "I categorically deny that we are interested in influencing the editorial policy of the Singapore Herald or any other newspaper."

Somewhat in sorrow the IPI Board went on to pass a resolution that unless there was a trial, open or closed, for the Nanyang prisoners, and a commission to investigate the charges against the Herald, it would have to conclude that a free press does not exist in Singapore.



Adele Koh: too trendy for Lee?

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Solzhenitsin's book looks safe

Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsin is unlikely to get into trouble with the Soviet authorities over his new book about the early days of the First World War, writes Edmund Stevens.

According to reliable sources, he submitted his manuscript for publication some months ago. It seems that, unlike copies of his previous works, copies of this one were sent abroad so that he could secure a copyright which protects him against pirated and distorted versions.

But the moments either sputtered out or lost their momentum. Students began to realise what it was all about. Their tubercular rebellion was overtaken by disillusionment and then apathy. They forced a re-examination of many of the conventional American values at which they expected unconditional surrender, this was not enough.

The job shortage and the job more limited scholarship funds have also had a sobering effect. They have induced many to think

Lost causes the campus

HENRY BRADY in Washington

AT THE student union on the Kent State University campus there are two booths: one sells caps and sweaters and the other tries to collect contributions to the Kent Student Medical Fund. That fund was set up to help pay medical bills of those eight students—two of them crippled—who were wounded during their confrontation with the Ohio National Guard 13 months ago.

The juxtaposition of those two booths aims to get seniors to donate the \$3.45 to the medical fund instead of spending it on the rental for cap and gown. So far fewer than 40 out of some 1,100 who have signed up have decided to forgo their formal graduation cap. "Maybe I'm thinking about it," one student observed, "but I've worked hard for this."

Last year it was fashionable to shun cap and gown. Their widespread rejection was a symbol of protest against tradition, against the "system." This year the students seem in a different mood. Political activism and the romantic belief that violence or the sound of revolutionary ballads would bring the walls of the "system" down has evaporated.

Instead, as Ringman Brewster, President of Kappa, put it, "Eerie tranquility." It settled over the campuses. In some sense this "tranquility" is relative. In many cases behaviour that would have been considered outrageous, is now considered mild. Mild enough, anyway, not to arouse the news media whose taste buds are now blunted by the drama of violence.

Professor David Riesman of Harvard believes that the killing of an innocent graduate in the terrorist bombing of the mathematics building at the University of Wisconsin last year is crucial; this change of mood. "It brought home to the students," he is quoted as saying last week, "that if you are a radical you must be ready to die, and if you are not, then you are a liberal (which in their vocabulary is a rear word). And this bitter choice has had a paralysing effect: if the students don't want to die, nor do they want to be liberals."

Professor Kenneth Keniston, the psychologist from the Yale Medical School, his commencement (graduation) address at Notre Dame University, expressed a similar thought. "When rhetoric culminated in murder then the members of the student movement had to face for the first time their own complicity with the very violence against which they struggled."

Other reasons may account for the new "tranquility." Above all, rebellions tend to lose their momentum. Students began to realise what it was all about. Their tubercular rebellion was overtaken by disillusionment and then apathy. They forced a re-examination of many of the conventional American values at which they expected unconditional surrender, this was not enough.

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harder and to think themselves than the system. But it won't their faith in the system bound to nourish more protest have turned in. Inwardness. They are still riders," but without motor. They are now loath to themselves to anything. Earth Day the students protested pollution, said an 18-year-old at Middlesex: "but the next day they come to throw away the Coke and bottles."

Haynes Johnson, of the London Post put it this way: "There seems to be no national life with whom I identify personally. I have no heroes, not even ones. They don't read or they watch television regularly. They are uncertain as they are going to do in their lives."

None of the many Democratic Presidential hopefuls inspire them, nor does President Nixon. Even the folk balladeers are lost. An inspirational influence. Only the rock opera Jesus Christ Superstar reflects some identification with a kind, a full, but strong man who becomes the victim of a brutal, aversive world. It could be even so. This is the desire to be in something beyond that God.

The attitude of the whose struggle stirred the national student mass movement became a disappointment. Soon rejected the white as they wanted to fight the battles. Julian Bond, the black legislator from Georgia speaking at the comment. Howard University here, succinctly: "You cannot a Woodstock (the great pop festival) while the tolerates Watts (the Angeles ghetto)."

Blacks cannot get the ideas of the class, he implied, suffer from white. However, this meant exorcism, quiet and undevolved as were everybody is, but may not in fact be unstable.

If there is the common is the hope, tolerance and able to work it. The only adm man who has de Administration's is Secretary Rogers. He was his address, but microphone to a critic.

However, the Reagan, a disciple of King, raised what one of the most important future: this class particularly that for the first written history of the 18-year-old has the not only to vote for but to run for the makes Americans won this generation will country, something templating for the Western World too.

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Sacked teacher blames governor

By Denis Herbstein

MR CHRISTOPHER Searle, the 27-year-old Stepney teacher sacked for publishing a volume of his pupils' poetry without permission, has now compiled a list of what he claims were attempts by the school's headmaster and governors to intimidate him. The allegations are contained in a letter released to The Sunday Times by the National Council for Civil Liberties.

Mr Searle alleges that:

- He was embarrassed by the chairman of the governors in front of a classroom of children.
- That his personal telephone calls at the school were intercepted.
- That he was not given a proper chance to defend himself against allegations of a breach of discipline and disloyalty to the school.

Last week the schools committee of the Inner London Education Authority told the governors of the school—the Sir John Cass Foundation and Red Coat Church of England Secondary School—that they must secure the ILEA's consent for the dismissal of Mr Searle. But the governors refused to give way and immediately appealed to the Secretary of State for Education to arbitrate.

The Department of Education inquiry into the Searle affair is expected to discuss whether the ILEA staff code applies to probationary teachers such as Mr Searle. Under the code, a teacher must receive a copy of the charges made against him, advance notification of the disciplinary hearing and he must be given the right to representation by a lawyer, union member or friend. Mr Searle says that he received none of these rights.

In a letter to the chairman of the board of governors, the Rev Roderick Gibbs, written after some of the poems had appeared in The Sun newspaper and when publication in book form of the anthology, Stepney Words, was imminent—Mr Searle describes the way in which he was "invited" to attend a school meeting at which the book would be discussed.

He writes: "You (Mr Gibbs) interrupted my class, handed me the headmaster's memorandum (about the book) and proclaimed in the presence of the children that the meeting was to be of a non-disciplinary nature. I was baffled as to why such an announcement should have to be made in the presence of children."

Mr Gibbs said yesterday: "If you want to see a teacher, the classroom is the only place where you can do it unless you are prepared to wait around. None of the children were aware of what I said to Mr Searle."

Mr Searle says that about 18

people were present at the meeting. He adds: "I have since discovered that one of these persons was the divisional inspector. No gesture was made to introduce him to me; in fact the identities of most of the other eminent ladies and gentlemen present still remain a mystery to me."

It became quite clear that the purpose of this meeting was, in fact, to discipline me. Accusations of disloyalty, breach of discipline, professional irresponsibility were levelled at me. Any reference to the actual writing involved, made by myself, was refused as being unnecessary.

I was not informed beforehand of the charges against me and so did not prepare any defence and did not seek advice from my union, which it is my right to do in such matters."

Mr Gibbs says: "I introduced Mr Searle to everybody who was at the meeting. It was the customary courtesy. It was not a disciplinary meeting. We wanted to know why the poems had appeared in The Sun without Mr Searle's consulting the board of governors."

Mr Searle says that his feeling of intimidation was heightened by some other actions at the school. "The suppression of a telephone message to me from the Melbourne Herald is an outrageous invasion of my personal liberty." (Mr Searle is referring to a request by the Australian newspaper for permission to publish some of the poems.)

In his letter, Mr Searle further alleges that he made "approximately a dozen attempts to make an urgent call regarding the ordering of films for the Film Club (at the school) to be told by the (school) secretary each time that the line was engaged." Later he was told that Mr Gibbs had ordered that Mr Searle should neither receive nor make calls at the school.

Mr Gibbs agrees that no telephone calls from newspapers were passed on to Mr Searle. "Calls made during working hours are purely at the discretion of the employer."

The headmaster of the school, Mr Geoffrey Barrell, said yesterday that as the matter was now under judicial review, he could not comment on Mr Searle's allegations.

The affair of the pupils' poems is not the first time that Mr Searle has been reprimanded over a question of school discipline. In January this year, Mr Barrell had a half-hour talk with Mr Searle about a reported suggestion he had made that pupils should "one day" come to school without their uniforms. Mr Barrell told the teacher that such a suggestion could lead to "a possible total breakdown of good order."

● All 2,000 copies of the first edition of Stepney Words have been sold. Another 2,000 will be printed in a few days' time. Mr Searle has a pile of additional verses by his pupils which he says he will use in a second edition of the volume.

For a long life, be rich

PEOPLE of the lower social classes tend to die younger than the well-off—and the difference has been demonstrated within an environment as compact as Exeter with only 80,000 inhabitants, writes Bryan Silcock.

The odds against poorer people are reported in the journal Urban Studies by Dr Mary Griffiths, a former lecturer in geography at Exeter University. She ranked Exeter's 17 wards according to the proportion of people of the various social classes living in them and compared their mortality patterns.

She found notably high death rates from cardiovascular disease among women, and from pneumonia among men, in the wards where the lower social classes predominated. Winton ward, which ranked bottom socially, with three times the city's average proportion of labourers and unskilled workers, had a mortality rate 20 per cent above the average.

In this ward nearly everyone lived in council houses, where the provision of household

arrangements was excellent, with almost all households having exclusive use of w.c., bath and hot water. There was, however, a lot of overcrowding.

Mortality among men (but not among women) was even higher in St David's ward, which ranked sixth from the bottom. Here old, privately-rented accommodation predominated. The two wards with conspicuously low mortality ranked second and third from the top for social class.

These results show, says Dr Griffiths, "that there is still considerable scope for increasing the longevity of the population."

Fishbourne guide

The Sunday Times guide to the Fishbourne Roman Palace is temporarily out of print. A reprint should be available from July 1. After that date, readers may obtain copies by post by sending a cheque or postal order for 35p (includes 5p for packing and postage) to: Fishbourne Brochure, The Sunday Times, 12 Coley Street, London WC99 5YT. After July 1 copies will also be available at the Palace, price 30p.

hampion of the fly-by-kites

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The competition was as stiff as the warm breeze that whipped across

the desert and gave Taras the uplift he needed. Eighteen others were in the running for the prize. And running wasn't the wrong word. First they had to make a mad dash down a steep hill. Then, with the wind under their wings, they leapt out-

wards and—if they were lucky—upwards too.

It took Taras several attempts to become a bird man. Once he was in the air for only a few seconds. Then came the two-minute flight that made him the top man of the day.

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Chairman J. Sainsbury Limited.

Extracts from Chairman's Statement

THE YEAR ending March 1971 was very successful for our Company. Turnover increased by a record £33.9 million, to £221 million, up 18% on the previous year. Profit before tax, at £6.3 million, was also a record—being 24% greater than the previous year. As a proportion of turnover, this represents a much needed growth from 2.71% last year to 2.85%.

These results were particularly satisfactory as they were achieved by a reduction in operating costs in relation to turnover, rather than by an increase in gross profit margin, at a time when severe inflation was affecting all operating expenses of the business.

Last year I commented that, taking account of our expansion plans and the cost of raising new capital, our return on investment was not sufficient. In the past year, we have begun to benefit to a greater extent from the massive investment we have made over recent years in new supermarkets and depots. We have invested over £30 million in the last five years and this, together with our current level of investment, means that we must continue to look for a growing return on this considerable capital expenditure.

Inflation, as well as changes in world markets, was responsible for a very steep rise in food prices over the last year. Clearly, a significant proportion of our increase in turnover must be associated with the higher food price level; nevertheless our increase in volume terms during the year was greater than in either of the previous two years and more than anticipated in the present economic climate.

Changes in composition of trade and own label development

Not only have we experienced a considerable increase in volume in recent years, but also a continual change in the composition of our trade as the nature of our stores changes. Such has been the growth of our grocery and canned goods trade that today we have generally as great a share of the national market in this sector of our business as we have in provisions.

During the course of the last year, we added 59 new own label products, so that by the end of the year the total number of own label lines (that is including different sized packs of the same product) amounted to 1,280. Critics sometimes claim that own labels are neither concerned with innovation of new products, nor with high quality standards. This is clearly not so; a truer statement would be that the characteristics of a retailer's own label are a reflection of the trading standards of that retailer and, normally, correspond to the priority that is given to quality, price and innovation.

The role of the laboratory

The development of our own label trade has only been achieved because the skills of our Buying Departments have been allied to the considerable scientific and technical competence of our Laboratory. Outside the food trade and the world of science, the size and importance of our Laboratory and its contribution to the Company's trading achievements is little known. Our Director of Research, E. F. Williams, OBE, MA, FRSC, FRST, who was recently appointed Special Professor of Food Hygiene in the Department of Applied Biochemistry and Nutrition at Nottingham University and has also been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine, heads a team of a hundred staff, of whom approximately one-third are graduates.

It is because our buyers are backed by such a scientific team that they have been able to organise and maintain a satisfactory quality control of all Sainsbury label products. The Laboratory is concerned, however, with a great deal more than work directly connected with own label products.

In particular our Micro-Biological Section has set up standards and methods which have enabled us to provide safer standards for the consumer and a sound basis when establishing shelf-life of perishable foodstuffs.

Increase in sales area: the need for larger supermarkets

Our increased trade during the year came largely from supermarkets opened during the last three years for, generally, it is only in those stores that the intensity of our trade is not such as to inhibit any expansion. Last year, we increased our selling area in supermarkets by approximately 160,000 sq. ft., making a total increase in three years of 460,000 sq. ft.

By the year end, our total supermarket and self-service sales area was just short of 1 million sq. ft. and the average sales area of our supermarkets 8,250 sq. ft. Our turnover per square foot of selling area was probably higher than any other food chain in the world and nearly three times the industry average in this country.

In our older supermarkets this intensity of trading inhibits the expansion of business, the development of new methods of display, the service to customers, as well as limiting the range of goods. It is obvious, therefore, why we are anxious for our new supermarkets to be larger than today's average.

We opened 13 stores during the year, the average size of which was 11,400 sq. ft. We closed 21 of our remaining old counter service shops, so that there were only 66 remaining at the end of the financial year.

Car parking and the siting of stores

It is regrettable that there is not greater recognition of the need for car parks adjacent to supermarkets. The planning authorities in this country still give insufficient recognition to the needs of shoppers of the future, compared to their opposite numbers on the Continent. Too often this whole issue is clouded by the fear of the possible loss of trade in traditional shopping centres.

New shopping facilities are needed to diminish congestion at traditional centres whilst creating the greatest increased convenience for the consumer.

The reluctance of Local Authorities to agree to the development of large discount stores or hypermarkets is no reason for inhibiting supermarket development, sited for car shoppers' convenience on the edge of towns, providing basically their weekly household needs.

The Government and Local Authorities should take account of the evidence that more supermarkets bring lower prices to more people. More space and lower rents in the suburbs must in the long term lead to relatively lower food prices and greater supermarket efficiency.

Reduction in S.E.T. passed to the consumer

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's announcement of the reduction of Selective Employment Tax by half from July 5th was very welcome news. We have, since its introduction, been severely critical of S.E.T. and, in last year's statement, I gave my reasons why our experience did not support the conclusions of Professor Reddaway's report on the subject. Last year, the cost of S.E.T. to our Company represented no less than 26% of our net profit before tax. We have always said that S.E.T. put up the cost of food to the consumer. For this reason, we believed it right to pass on to our customers as distinctively as we could the reduction in our operating costs that will come about by the halving of S.E.T.

As has been pointed out, the cost of S.E.T. is small compared to the overall increase in food prices during the last year. In these particular circumstances we believed it right to make a clear distinction between

savings in our costs that come about through S.E.T. reduction, compared with the general movement in retail price level made necessary by market movements, or changes in our suppliers' selling prices. By concentrating the S.E.T. savings on a relatively small number of lines, which will be adjusted seasonally, we are passing on better value in a way that is easier for the consumer to recognise.

The P.L.B. report on food distribution

The reference of Food Distribution to the Prices and Incomes Board made by the last Government was to be regretted for a number of reasons and the reference was so all embracing as to be impossible to fulfil in the time available. Nevertheless, the food trade as a whole, and multiple traders in particular, can be very satisfied with the conclusions drawn by the P.L.B. There could hardly have been a clearer statement of the confusion that multiple supermarket operators have made to raising the efficiency of retail food distribution. The trade also has Lord Peddie and his colleagues to thank for the collation of some useful statistics and data that will have widespread value.

Management training and development

One of the most important developments during the year has been the new initiative we have brought to bear on staff training.

We aim to achieve an organisation which, despite its growing size, remains as strong as ever in its entrepreneurial qualities, whilst avoiding the twin dangers of becoming either impersonal in its attitude to customers or staff, or bureaucratic in its method of decision-making.

Appointment of new Departmental Directors

It was with these objectives in mind that, during the year, we reviewed the organisation of our Board and the allocation of different duties. Our intention is to maintain our past attention to trading detail at a high level in the business, whilst not losing our speed of response to changing consumer needs. It was in order to make this possible in the future that on March we announced the appointment of five new Departmental Directors—Mr. C. W. Burdett to be Property Director, Mr. R. G. Condon to be Director of the Engineering Division, Mr. M. S. Hughes to take over certain responsibilities in Meat and Poultry Trading, Mr. R. A. Ingham to become responsible in due course for the Dairy, Wines and Spirits and Bakery Departments and Mr. G. A. Nichols for Supply Control and related Departments.

Capital reorganisation

During the year, the Preference Shares in both the parent company and J. Sainsbury (Properties) Limited were replaced by Loan Stock—full details of this capital reorganisation being sent to Shareholders at the time. Interest on the Loan Stock is a charge against profit before tax and the cost for the past year has been shown in this way.

Tribute to suppliers and staff

The achievements that I have recorded in this report would have been impossible if it were not for the support we have received from our many suppliers, both in this country and throughout the world, during the course of the last year, and for the efforts and great hard work of our staff throughout the business. I welcome this opportunity to record my sincere appreciation to both our suppliers and our staff and to express the belief that, by continuing to expand the value and service we give our customers, we will develop business that is ever more advantageous to our suppliers and work that has ever more opportunities for our staff.

Summary of The Year's Trading

	1969	1970	1971	Year to March 1971 compared with previous year %
Turnover	£000	£000	£000	
Supermarkets	105,767	135,080	174,999	+29.6
Self Service & Partial Self Service	22,927	22,846	22,058	-3.4
Counter Service	37,009	29,559	24,342	-17.6
	165,703	187,485	221,399	+18.1
Profits				
Profit before Taxation	4,342	5,083	6,317	+24.3
Taxation	1,991	2,407	2,400	
Net Profit	2,351	2,676	3,917	
Cost of Dividends	481	481	356	
Profit retained	1,870	2,195	3,561	

Supermarkets: figures relate to year end

Average weekly turnover	£27,600	£30,600	£33,000
Total sales area—square feet	570,000	763,000	924,000
			+21.1

The profit in safer abortion



Charles Price, abortion clinic director

ONE RESULT of the 1967 Abortion Act which few would dispute is that it is now medically safer for a woman to have an abortion than ever before. Strict control of the 54 private clinics approved by the Department of Health has, despite the occasional well-publicised case, kept their death rate remarkably low. (Although many factors make a direct comparison misleading, 14 women died during National Health Service abortions in 1969 and only three in approved private clinics.)

But—because of the patchiness of abortion opportunity on the NHS—one side effect of the Act, not foreseen, has made private abortion into a big and profitable business which has attracted not only airport taxis and "pregnancy services" but financiers and professional men. A Sunday Times inquiry looks at the world of abortion clinics, their methods and their profits.

PARK VIEW Clinic, Ealing, is in a quiet West London street close to Walspole Park. It has 24 beds, provides facilities for abortions and charges for them fees of £20 a bed for the first day, £15 for the second, £5 for pathology, and £15 for operating room time. This comes to a total of £55—a large chunk of the £130 to £150 a woman pays for an abortion at Park View.

The Fairfield clinic, a former old people's home in Russell Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, opened in May, has 14 beds at the moment, will have 30 when finished and will handle 150 cases a week. It charges an inclusive fee of only £60.

Capital needs

These two clinics represent the extremes of the private abortion spectrum in Britain today. In between are the 52 other "approved" clinics, some of which, like the London Clinic, perform only an occasional termination, while the Langham Street Clinic, Langham, London, W1, performs the most. What they all have in common is that they mark a new development in the British abortion scene: the application of efficient business methods to what, before the Act, was a haphazard and risky affair.

The reason for this development was the realisation that the main profits under the Act would be made not by the person performing the termination but by whoever could provide the patients and the facilities. This change occurred for two main reasons: a clinic of a standard high enough to meet Department of Health requirements costs from £75,000 to £150,000. Few doctors, even those who had been abortionists before the Act, could raise that sort of money. Merchant banks, finance houses, and property developers could.

Secondly, even if a doctor could find enough money to start his own clinic, he faced all the ethical problems posed by General Medical Council's strictures on advertising, and if he could not advertise for clients how would women find him. (The business-backed clinics, as we shall see, have solved this problem neatly.)

What level of return for money invested has aroused financiers' interest in abortion clinics? The man behind the Park View clinic is Charles Price, a London property developer, who says he is worth "a million on paper". Price, who has shares in catering companies and restaurants, became interested in Park View when, as a director of Margaret Nursing Home, it had just lost its Department of Health approval to carry out abortions.

Money back

Price says he would like to have been a doctor and had dreamed of starting a rival to the London Clinic. When he heard that Lady Margaret might be for sale he began negotiations with one of its directors, Dr Gerald Moore, who had combined with his medical career, dentistry, acting, and an interest in abortion clinics.

Price paid £50,000 for the clinic and a further £25,000 for modernisation and improvements necessary to restore its Department of Health approval, which was granted last October. Price calculates that he will have got his £75,000 back by the end of the second year, a remarkable return on capital invested.

[The know-how Price has gained during this deal has brought a bonus. With Ronald Shaw, a Pease dealer and a director of New Cross Nursing Home in South

London, and Shaw's solicitor, Anthony Ambrose, he was involved in setting up two of New York's major abortion clinics, Park East and Park West. Price accepted a share in these clinics as payment for his advice.]

The Langham Street Clinic's owners are difficult to trace. This clinic is Britain's biggest and wealthiest with an estimated gross income of £14 million a year and is still expanding. Its shareholders include Nurses Night and Day Ltd. and Parviz Holdings Ltd. in turn Parviz Holdings owns most of Nurses Night and Day.

Originally Parviz Holdings was owned by Dr Parviz Faridian, of Philbeach Gardens, Earls Court. When Dr Faridian appeared before the General Medical Council's disciplinary committee two years ago accused of infamous conduct (the clinic had sent a circular letter to West German doctors advertising abortions) he said he had resigned from the intermediary companies. (Dr Faridian was ordered to be struck off but won his appeal to the Privy Council.) Notification of Dr Faridian's resignation, however, is yet to be filed at Companies House.

An indication of the profits made by clinics like the Langham can be gathered from the financial set-up at Calthorpe, a Birmingham clinic controlled by Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service (BPAS), a charity, and Fairfield, the Buckhurst Hill clinic controlled by the London Pregnancy Advisory Service (LPAS), also a charity. The deal to convert Calthorpe, including the £25,000 needed for building work, was put together by Trevor Heathcote, a London chartered surveyor, and Michael Reynolds, an accountant.

The money was raised from a London merchant bank, and Heathcote and Reynolds became sole shareholders and directors of Calthorpe Nursing Home Ltd. Profits are split 50 per cent to the company and 50 per cent to the Institute for Sex Education and Research which then covenants the money, less its own nominal expenses, to BPAS. Although Calthorpe charges only £85 for an abortion, by the time full tax relief has been obtained, BPAS expects to get as its half share from the first year of Calthorpe's operation no less than £37,500.

In fact, the returns have been so good the BPAS is opening a second clinic at Brighton in July, financed this time by a £45,000 loan from one of the Big Five handling companies. This clinic will charge only £60 for an abortion and hopes to cut the price to £40 and still make a profit for its loans and grants fund.

The deal for Fairfield Clinic was also put together by Heathcote and Reynolds who are on its board. The conversion cost more than £100,000 and, although the charge for an abortion is only £80, the company expects to make sufficient profit to contribute funds to LPAS for charitable purposes and still return to its backers what an LPAS spokesman described as "a modest return on their investment."

There are two essential factors in the financial success of Calthorpe and Fairfield. Calthorpe pays its NHS doctors on average of £12.50 for a termination; private clinics pay £30 (which means that a busy and efficient doctor can earn as much as £800 in a day). The other is that Calthorpe and Fairfield have been able to eliminate the middleman, which in the case of the other clinics is the "bureau."

A bureau is an independent office which locates women who want abortions and refers them to clinics. They do this by advertising, circular letters, contacts with Continental doctors, and by commissions for the taxi-drivers at London Airport and at the West London Air Terminal. (Some clinics, such as Langham, make their own arrangements at London Airport.)

The message

For this service the bureau takes a fee from the clinics ranging from £25 to £50, from which it "kicks back" £15 to £30 to the taxi-driver or whoever referred the woman to the bureau. A busy bureau staffed by a multi-lingual secretary can take £300 to £400 a week with only small overheads. A taxi-driver finding only one girl a day wanting an abortion can earn £90 to £120 a week.

The bureau involve themselves in some amazing contortions in order to attract potential clients and yet at the same time avoid trouble with the General Medical Council—which might consider that advertising could be associated with the doctors operating at the clinic concerned—and the Advertising Standards Authority which decides the ethics of advertising.

This advertisement in a national newspaper: "Pregnancy testing £1, nursing facilities £5 even more cunning than it appears. Nursing Facilities is a business name registered by the London Nursing Homes Ltd. which runs the New Cross Nursing Home, an approved abortion clinic."

The other main play of abortion bureaux is to make their names sound as near as possible to the two charitable groups, the Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service and the London Pregnancy Advisory Service. BPAS began a High Court action against a bureau which intended calling itself the "Midlands Pregnancy Advisory Service" but called the action off when the bureau withdrew the name.

Since it was not the purpose of the Act that bureaux, taxi-drivers, doctors and clinics should make money out of abortions, obviously something needs to be done. A solution would appear to be to make it easier to obtain an abortion on National Health or to encourage the charity clinics to expand. As Mrs Nan Smith, director of BPAS says: "The more clinics we open the more difficult it will be for some clinics to make such incredible profits."

All-Party bid to revive A6 case

AN ALL-PARTY effort will make this week to persuade Maudling, the Home Secretary, to set up a public inquiry into the murder of Michael O'Connell in a lay-by off the A6. Since another man, Peter Louis Al, has several times confessed to the murder.

New moves were made week to open the case at a preliminary level, when a Labour motion calling public inquiry was put to Conservative and Liberal. The Labour motion, carried by 45 MPs including Mr. Ministers, calls for an inquiry on the grounds that the "probable" would not be proved if the jury assessed evidence which has available since. Much evidence was collected Foot's new book, *Who Hanged?*

The Liberal amendment, initiated by Mr. Davis, simply calls for an inquiry into making any judgement of probability. The Conservative amendment, which will appear on the order paper tomorrow, similarly worded.

Mr. Norman Fowler (Ham South), one of the Conservatives who supported the amendment, said yesterday that the Labour motion tends to prejudice the case that has prevented mainly concerned MPs. On the other hand the many public doubts about what it seems an "up" public inquiry can do.

The Sunday Times conducted its own inquiry into the A6 murder, that a public inquiry would be to achieve a better setting out these facts. Mr. Hanratty became a suspect, 2, description of the changed eight days murder; 3, What was the of relationships between principal actors in the case; 4, Copies of these facts are being sent to all Hamratty's parents as part of a campaign to reopen the case.

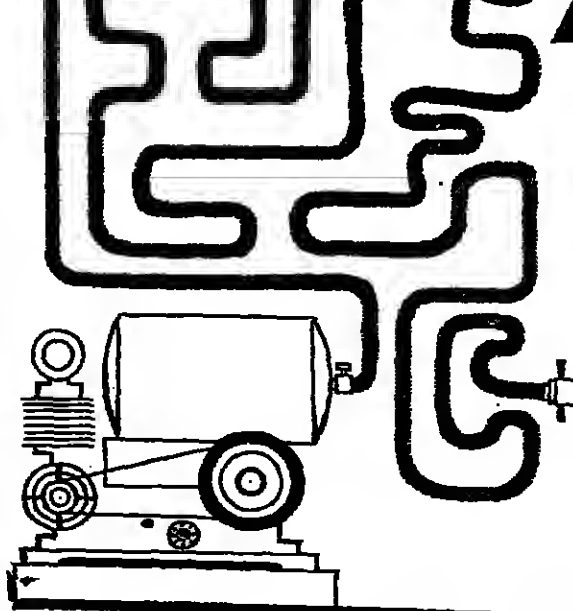
Green Sh of safety

WORKERS at a large factory in the Midlands each get 160 Green Shirts worth 53p for every week 53p for every week without being an industrial accident. The firm's general manager, Mr. Gordon O'Connell, introduced the idea in section to reduce its loss time on the shop floor.

The firm's general manager, Mr. Gordon O'Connell, don't have many accidents in the factory. We sometimes get 10 men off in a week with metal in their eyes doesn't take his state one week his wife will and he will say it is something in his time he will wear his shirt.

If an entire team has an accident, the man's stamp ration doubled to 320 shillings to 1.06 and the firm to continue paying during holidays. Mr. O'Connell says, says think it's a great accident-free year. The accident-free year is 13 weeks enough to buy a blanket or a garden.

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The march of misery

Murray Sayle reports from a small Indian town caught in the path of the great migration



Drawn on the spot by Gerald Scarfe

Bengali cigarettes made out of uncured tobacco leaves. The refugees are plying for these necessities for an Indian diet either with Pakistan money brought with them and changed at the Indian banks or by selling the women's bangles and trinkets. The tidal wave is moving steadily on from Barasat, which seems to be only a temporary and accidental resting place. The road seems to lead west, farther and farther away from East Pakistan—and towards Calcutta.

ONE of the biggest camps occupies the swampy ground at the end of the Calcutta Airport, Dum Dum. The refugees seem to have stopped here because they believed that relief supplies from abroad would be handed out directly at the airport. This has certainly not happened. So far no supplies from abroad have been distributed at the Dum Dum camp, although they are held in the customs warehouse about a mile away. There are various reasons — a Norwegian gift of nine tons of dried fish is rotting because the West Bengal authorities wisely do not want people soaking the fish in contaminated water. Baby food in powder form is similarly being held while a system is worked out for mixing it with clean water. And the Calcutta customs are holding vast quantities of supplies which have been consigned "to the refugees" or "to the Government of India," on the bureaucratic quibble that some identifiable person of substance must step forward and sign for these supplies—tents, plastic sheeting and food—in case it is decided that there is duty to pay.

There is still an optimistic feeling among many non-refugees to officials, that this is a temporary thing, and that the refugees will go home soon, or at least go away somewhere else. The civil aviation authorities are pressing hard to have the Dum Dum camp shifted immediately; they point out that the habitations there, grass huts though most of them are, will attract vultures, which will be right in the final approach path of aircraft landing at Dum Dum.

But none of the refugees I spoke to—all of them Hindu—thought there was any chance that they would ever go back to a now almost wholly Muslim East Pakistan. I noticed today that road-signs have appeared outside the Dum Dum camp. "Refugee Camp—Go Slow." They looked very permanent to me.

extraordinary human tide overwhelmed Barasat, a Bengali provincial town on the Calcutta and the East India border whose medical health services are barely adequate, even by Asian standards for its normal population of 150,000. In the past week some 150,000 and 200,000 people poured into Barasat and the crowded farmlands around the town. They are housed in schools, religious houses and at least one cinema, and some of them are simply sleeping on the roadside. They can walk no farther. At district hospital stands the main road between Barasat and Hasnabad and the crossing point from East Pakistan to India. The hospital is a group of three single-storey buildings, but having a second storey and out of luck the work is not enough advanced to receive the present influx. They are sleeping on a ragged lawn, now in deep pools of water, places after the heavy rain the past few days.

On the road there passes, as a file of ants, a long stream of refugees, barefoot, thin, and in minimum clothing—a cloth wound as a sari around a woman, and a loin cloth around a man, with the children out five naked. In this lot much different from the inhabitants and have the slender build, and flashing teeth. But the refugees can distinguish. While people stroll in knots and joke as they walk,

the refugees march in determined, unsmiling lines. On their heads they all carry much the same burdens, the men rolled-up mats and a few belongings wrapped in a cloth and balancing on top, the women cooking pots and folded pieces of cotton, such spare clothing as the family may possess. Inconspicuously many of these country gents carry a tattered black umbrella.

As they file past the hospital gate many of them glance hopefully into the grounds. At first it looks like a reasonably inviting camp-site. Then they see the bloodstained bandages scattered about, the broken pieces of plaster-cast and the other uncollected medical garbage which identifies the place as a hospital.

They whip a corner of their single garments over their mouths, turn their head away, grasp the hand of the nearest child trotting at their heels and burry on. People who go into such places, they know, often do not come out.

Some of them have business in the hospital. Every few minutes a sick person is carried in on a crude stretcher made out of bits of wood tied together, or a woman carries in a child. Occasionally a patient arrives in style in a pedal rickshaw and a battered ambulance shuttles in and out. I follow along the squalid path to the main entrance of the hospital. Outside the entrance on the ground are two bundles of cloth. As I step over one of them, I see it is trembling violently and has the outline of a human being. There is a crush of people going in and out—patients, nurses, relatives and friends—but no one takes any notice of these hun-

dies, apparently dumped there by Good Samaritans who found these people lying by the roadside on the long walk from East Pakistan. I walk in and find the hospital jammed with patients lying on both sides of the corridors. A rusty sign says "Give Your Blood—It May Save A Precious Life." The doctor in charge, Dr. A. K. Ghose, tells me that the hospital was intended for about 300 patients. He has in fact more than 2,000—"We are beyond the count today." He says 757 people have been admitted with the symptoms of cholera since May 22 of whom 103 have so far died. Would I like to see the cholera wards? He warns that they are "a bit grim."

CHOLERA is a horrible and humiliating way to die. The only mercy is that it is comparatively quick. The cholera wards are two buildings behind the main hospital block. There are no beds. The patients lie on metal sheets covering a concrete floor. The disease produces uncontrollable vomiting, the results of which are everywhere. One victim strains at a bedpan—there appears to be only one available—while the rest do without. Those who still can, fan themselves weakly; those who are too far gone to do so are black with flies.

There are men, women and children of all ages. All are getting the same treatment—a bottle of saline solution dripped through a tube and needle into a forearm, a foot or a thigh. Some small babies have their mothers, also afflicted with the disease, lying beside them. One woman has two small babies beside her, all three connected by thin

plastic tubes to the saline bottles along from a rope overhead. One child, a girl about 10, is dead. Two women wail loudly over her body as it is wrapped in a cotton cloth for burial.

Four men are busy carrying the bodies of the dead away. One has a handkerchief tied over his mouth. They carry the body of a dead man wrapped in cloth away from the isolation ward on a crude stretcher, like a home-made ladder, to the hospital's emergency cemetery. This is a walled garden, 100 yards down the main road, where they heave their grim bundle over the wall. Then they go back for another. The stench from this makeshift mortuary is overpowering.

Back at the isolation ward, another body has been prepared. It is wrapped in cotton with a slip of paper pinned over the chest. This turns out to be a death certificate, done with a rubber stamp and the briefest conceivable epitaph: "name—age—Hindu/Muslim—male/female." There is a pile of these slips ready stamped and fastened with a paperclip on a table. The Bengali

nurses in white saris seem to take the whole thing stoically. One nurse I did indeed see in tears, trying to comfort a woman weeping over a dead baby. But a moment later she was laughing with another nurse at some, I suppose grim, joke.

I was appalled that these nurses, members of the West Bengal Nursing Service, were so indifferent to the flies and the filth of their wards. But then it must be said that the patients already had cholera and could not be further infected. I was full of unqualified admiration for their courage in working in such a charnel-house.

I returned to the main hospital, past a mound of coconut shells. Relatives had brought coconuts to the cholera wards, hoping that the milk would ease the raging thirst which the disease produces. I found Dr. Ghose had some encouraging figures.

Admissions for cholera and gastroenteritis, which has exactly the same symptoms, are falling: from 150 a day earlier this week to 73 yesterday. They suggest that, in Barasat at least, the

epidemic has passed its maximum virulence.

Two reasons were given by Dr. Ghose and other experts I spoke to. The vaccination campaign, while far from complete, slows the spread of the disease, as clearings slow a forest fire.

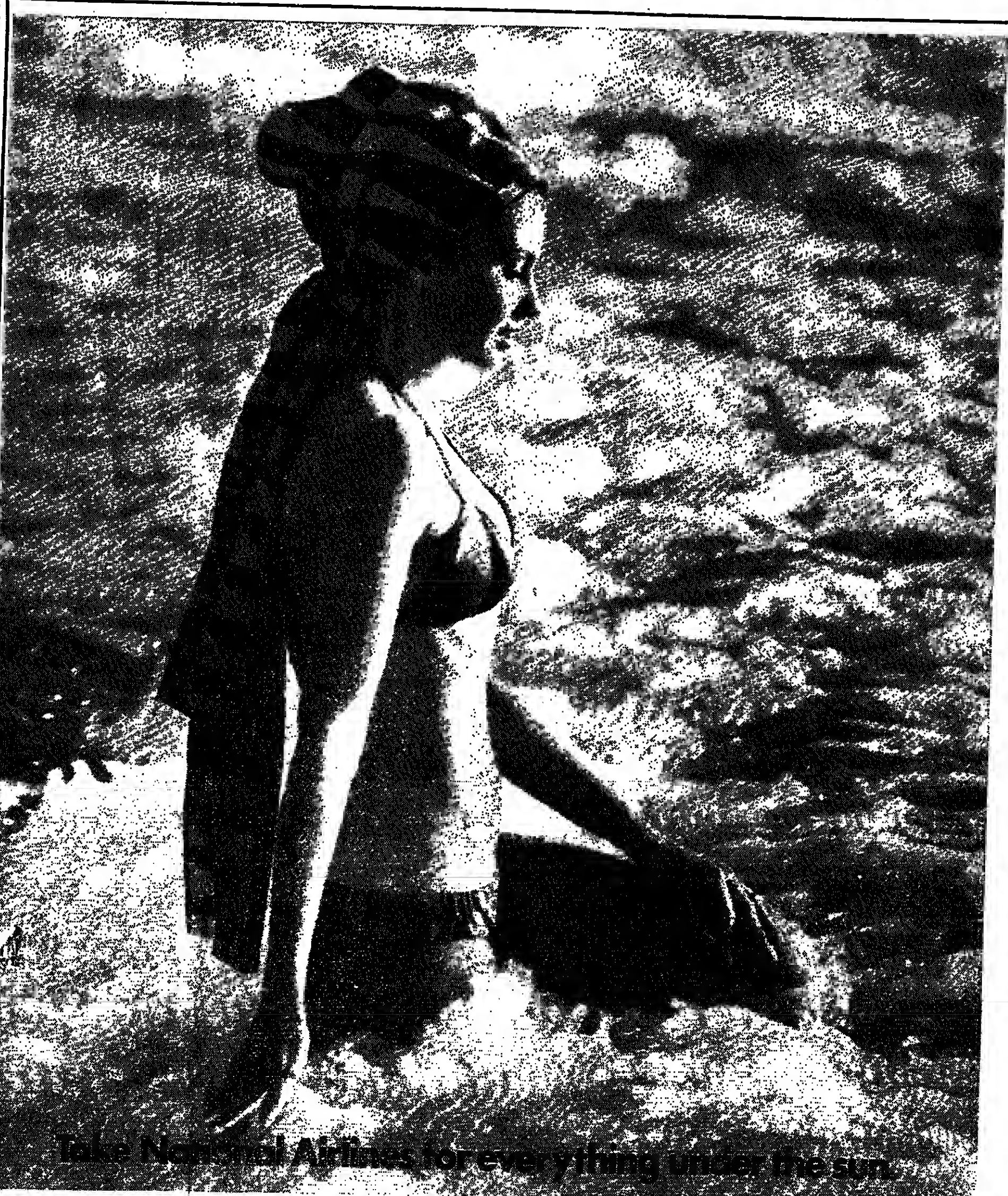
Secondly the sinking of new wells by the West Bengal authorities is giving more people access to uncontaminated water, though these are still a fortunate minority.

I got few clues at the hospital about what had caused this human tidal wave. One woman arrived while I was there needing treatment for a bullet wound, which she said she had received from the Pakistan army.

Other refugees told me that they left when their houses were burnt down, some said by soldiers, others said by Muslims who were not Bengalis. Others simply said they left because they were afraid. I had the impression that I was seeing waves from a distant storm of unimaginable violence which had driven these people down the peaceable roads of West Bengal.

As I left the Barasat hospital I saw that one of the bundles at the gate had gone and that the other had stopped trembling. I lifted a corner of the cloth. It was an old man, in the last stages of emaciation. I think dead. He wore, I noticed, the sacred thread, which showed he was a Brahmin who had met this supremely unprivileged end.

The massive influx into Barasat took the civil servants of the West Bengal local government administration completely by surprise. Barasat was considered too crowded already to take a refugee camp. It seems that the main reason for the influx is that Barasat lies at the junction of a number of roads leading from the East Pakistan border to Calcutta. The West Bengal authorities have begun issuing ration cards to refugees from a temporary post in the local secondary school and handing out rations—400 grammes of rice a day, 200 grammes of dried peas, and cooking oil, enough to keep people alive for the time being—and roadside stalls have sprung up selling chilis, curry powder and



overseas property... see pages 38-39

UN to let Yahya control aid

By Sunday Times reporters

ISMET KITTANI, the special investigator sent by U Thant to East Pakistan, has astonished diplomatic observers in New York with the news that the UN is to send aid to the military government of Yahya Khan without independently supervising its distribution to those in need.

Kittani was asked by journalists in New York on Friday night:

"How will the food be distributed?"

"The Pakistani authorities will distribute it," he replied.

"Which Pakistani authorities?"

"I don't know. That is up to the Pakistani Government. This is precisely the thing that is being worked out in Dacca."

Michael Blackman, Oxfam's Disasters Operations Officer, believes "relief supplies should not go into East Pakistan unless there is independent supervision."

While everyone recognises the Pakistani Government's authority over its internal affairs, relief workers on both sides of the conflict are increasingly concerned about what could happen inside East Bengal. Such reports as are available suggest that many thousands of people now face starvation.

War on Want, with other British charities, has sent John Stonehouse, MP, to report from the Indian side of the conflict. Stonehouse reported on April 19 that the danger of starvation would arise in two months' time as stocks ran down.

The same day, Iain O Macdonald, co-ordinator of a team representing Christian Aid, Oxfam and War on Want, who had been based on Chittagong, was in London with a grim assessment:

"As the deliberate killing of all leaders and destruction of property has so far failed to break the back of the resistance, it is logical for the army to ensure that only areas over which the military have complete control will be ensured of a satisfactory food supply in the country-wide food situation."

"It is manifest that the army will have to use hunger as a deliberate weapon."

"Any aid, therefore, which enters the country under the terms of the army government will be used to support that policy in East Pakistan or will be used, as much of the aid already given to East and West Pakistan has already been used, to support the army's operation."

Finally, the official team sent to India by U Thant reported on May 19 the obvious consequences of the exodus:

By now, however, President Yahya Khan was on record in a letter to U Thant, dated May 3, asserting: "No cause for concern has so far been expressed by local authorities in East Pakistan. . . . The Forces of Pakistan, having restored the situation, are now engaged . . . in relief and rehabilitation operations."

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Helen Joseph's 'freedom' is a warning

By Benjamin Pogrand, Johannesburg

AN OMINOUS significance underlies the way Mrs Helen Joseph was freed this week from her eight years of house arrest. When she left hospital on Friday the restrictions on her were not cancelled but only suspended "until further notice." It is a clear warning to her to behave herself.

For the South African Government clearly regard Mrs Joseph as an exception. It took hospitalisation for a cancer operation and a surge of public protest to persuade the Minister of Justice to free her; another 42 people remain under house arrest and there is no chance of a general relaxation despite protests from the outside world.

The 42 include Robert Sobukwe, the former Pan-African Congress leader; and Harold Strachan, who is now doing a second stretch of five years' house arrest after describing his earlier experiences to the Press. But neither Mr Sobukwe nor Mr Strachan stand

much chance of provoking a repetition of the public outcry which Mrs Joseph's case caused. Mrs Joseph, a woman of 66 who lives on her own with a cat and dog for company, was harassed from having visitors, except the police and a doctor, had to report to the police daily between noon and 2 p.m.; was confined to her home between 6.30 p.m. and 6.30 a.m. and at weekends and public holidays; and barred from all social gatherings and meetings.

Added to all this was harassment from sudden security police visits and incidents such as an anonymous telephoned death threat and the planting of an explosive device on her front gate.

Mrs Joseph was a leading figure in the now banned Communication Congress of Democrats when, in October, 1962, she became the first South African to be house arrested. But what probably made her a particular target of Government attack was

her untiring work for the Africans who had been banished to remote areas of the country for opposing apartheid.

The reimposition of house arrest in 1967 was seen by many as an attempt to force Mrs Joseph to return to England, where she was born. After her acquittal on treason charges in 1961 she was brought to trial only for breaking a reporting late to the police and for allegedly having unlawful papers.

Yet Mrs Joseph refused to leave and her stubborn resistance brought her wide admiration and respect. When she went to hospital last month a friend said: "Having cancer is almost a rest for her in comparison with the life she has been forced to lead. This is the first respite she has had from reporting to the police. The first time she has slept under a roof with other people. The first time she is able to lie back and listen to chatter."

Now the great loneliness has ended. Her hospital ward was crowded with well-wishers and when she went home last week to her Johannesburg suburb scores of friends turned out to welcome her. But Mrs Joseph remains silent, for nothing she says or writes can be quoted. No interview with her can be published in South Africa or may it be



Helen Joseph: special case

Can New York's Lindsay get a divorce from Rockefeller?

By Stephen Fay, New York

IF THE LEADER of the Greater London Council had to ask a regional government in New York for permission to increase taxes, so that the GLC could pay for its unemployment, sickness and supplementary benefits for Londoners, he would understand how the Mayor of New York feels. If the politicians in New York refuse to allow the GLC to do this, the Mayor of New York is asking for the creation of institutions known as "national cities" which will deal directly with the Federal Government.

With this idea in mind, New York City is setting up a commission to investigate the benefits of statehood, a direct counter to New York State's commission which is now investigating the administration of the city.

Meanwhile the thorough president of Brooklyn has announced that Brooklyn would want independence from the city if the city became a state, and a union leader has described a strike which caused the worst traffic

September 3 to get the referendum on the ballot papers in November's elections, and they could well get them.

But Mayor Lindsay is making more modest proposals, despite Nelson Rockefeller, the State Governor, describing him last week as "emotionally upset." The Mayor also wants a divorce from Albany, the upstate capital, but instead of constitutional separation he is asking for the creation of institutions known as "national cities" which will deal directly with the Federal Government.

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jama in the city's history as a guerrilla warfare against rich Republican commuters." More than 50 years ago W. B. Yeats described in his poem *The Second Coming*, the politics of New York now.

"Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world." New York's problems are not exactly insoluble, but New Yorkers may be losing the will to solve them; and contempt for the city, which is a venerable American tradition, is growing increasingly intense. It was illustrated in Washington recently when a lobbyist from New York asked a Southern Congressman to support requests for more Federal aid.

His plea was heard with such courtesy that his natural pessimism was temporarily founded. He finished and waited for some indication of support. Finally the Southern politician

replied quietly: "I ain't gonna help pay for Lindsay to keep black whore in the Waldorf-Astoria."

Not all the city's problems are that simple, nor can they all be solved by money, but enough of them can be made the city's budget a thing of the State finance. Last week the Legislature finally agreed to allow the city to raise an extra \$218 million in new taxation. The city claimed that it needed another \$116 million to balance its budget.

But the anger of the city is genuine and it springs from a feeling of impotence. The Mayor was angry because the Governor and State legislators in Albany deliberately excluded him from their negotiations about the size of the city budget and the

anger at him. The unions were angered because Albany would not sanction a pension plan which gives municipal workers retirement on half pay after 20 years and full pay after 40 years. The State legislators ignored it because they shrank from the generous precedent, so the keepers of mobile bridges raised them on the keys.

One reason for the increases is that local taxes pay for welfare because the cost of social services is not absorbed into the national budget as it is in Britain. A combination of economic recession and shoddy means that one in seven New Yorkers are on welfare, and although the Federal Government does pay a substantial slice of that, the city and state have to find 56 per cent of New York's yearly \$1,000 million welfare budget.

The State Legislature has cut spending and made welfare slightly more difficult to get, but it is New York that has to live with the effects of that decision. Already riots in Brownsville, the most depressed section of the city, have been attributed to the welfare cuts. And the proximity of poverty, squalor and violence seems to make New Yorkers more compliant in the face of higher taxes than the people who look on horrified from outside the city.

But the anger of New Yorkers is not just about money. In this city roughly 40 per cent of the population lives in rented flats, and the rents of 80 per cent of those have hitherto been controlled to the advantage of the tenant. Now the state legislators have ruled that after July 1, a flat once vacated is no longer rent controlled.

The implications of rent decontrol have been outlined by the most ardent of New York's columnists, Pete Hamill, who writes: "Young people will soon find it is cheaper to leave New York than to stay, that the city will have become a luxury that can be afforded only by welfare clients (whose rent will be picked up by the state) and the upper middle class." It amounts to this: the city is in danger of being denuded of all its middle-class families.

Years ago wrote in the *Second Coming*: "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity." There is much spathy and much passionate intensity in New York now, but there are still people with conviction that the city can be made to work, and remain a place worth living in. But the number of people with conviction has undoubtedly diminished in the past three months during the wrangle between the city and Albany. The solutions that are considered become increasingly desperate, and the secessionist cause is one of these.

America has treated secessionist movements with little sympathy in the past and there is no reason to suppose that New York will be any more successful than the slave states were in 1861.

But the desire for independence is significant in itself because what happens in New York happens later to some degree in all large cities in America. That may be one reason why New York is so disliked by the rest of the nation. For, as an augury of other people's futures, it is a disaster.

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Israel vey guns we win, words we may lose

By Eric Marsder
Jerusalem

GENERAL Haim Bar-Lev, Chief of Staff, looks at anza's Ben Cartwright confident he will be smiling last night of the next day. A General told a foreign Association luncheon: fighting re-started, the Army would hold all its line and put enough "pr on the Arab countries to them they could not find tion on the battlefield."

He was being modest, confide their certainty th the first fierce hours Israel would have to d the Soviet missile defence along the Suez Canal, it could penetrate deep but if their orders permit Russian and the Egyptian ally know it, too, and eager for an early battle.

Israelis are ready in happened with Nasser President Sadat's egg other. Arab leaders Ghadafi of Libya and of the Sudan.

Israeli confidence is r only on their victory in Day War. They point out stand on less vulnerable now and their forces are and better armed, no coy about the details. Egypt has rece more arms from Ru despite 20,000 Russian and experts, the Israel unimpressed by Egypt hility to use them.

They do not bel Egyptian soldier but troops still suffer from behind by i minded officers.

The Israelis are press igation for more arms craft to match the incr into Egypt expected 15-year treaty signed President Sadat and The think Russia r available to the Egy advanced type of figh the latest Sam 4 an missiles and the T-62 b

Countering this mil assuredness is a nagging the political battle of i the last through Ame calculation of Sadat an intentions. After it Podgorny treaty the ch partial settlement and ing of the Suez Canal b disappeared. The US of State, Mr William R is to expand the chair threatening Nato's so and to sign up more for the "Outer Wa

Then, they reckon eyes will turn south and ancient Nile Africa, and Sadat will to come to terms w opening the Canal.

Until the Soviet Middle East has b dated, the last thio wants is to let the E into battle, which w all that has been t bring Russia and t hrink.

Washington blam for its obstancy in increasingly desperate, and the secessionist cause is one of these.

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Which way is Chile going?

President Allende, Chile's first Marxist President, took office last November at the head of a Left-wing condition — and nobody could tell whether Chile faced a revolution or the rare spectacle of a working and radical social democracy. The issue is still in

doubt, although some deductions can be drawn after eight months. Professor Hugh Thomas, author of *The Spanish Civil War* and *A History of Cuba*, has recently returned from a visit to Chile, and his analysis of the situation appears in *The Times* tomorrow.

"Of course, by using Gypsum Walls I've rejected a lot of the traditions of the building industry. Like going broke."



Tom Whittingham, Managing Director, William Whittingham Ltd., Wolverhampton.

"You know, my grandfather started this company back in the thirties, and in that time I bet more builders have gone bust than any other kind of business.

It's not the competition so much. More the pressure to keep things up-to-date.

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And I'm not talking as someone who's just discovered Gypsum Walls. We've been using them for nigh on ten years.

They're dead easy to put up. And cheap. They're very light as well. Which means they save a good bit structurally. On the joists, for example.

Site's not so messy, either.

And there's no drying-out time, which is a blessing.

(We don't get phone-calls from customers who've moved into new homes, turned on the heating full blast, and watched horrified as the plaster's cracked.)

But for me, the best thing about Gypsum Walls is their flexibility.

On our 'Wildwood' site in Stafford, for instance, instead of building completed houses we're putting up outside walls.

We leave it to the customer to tell us where he wants the inside walls to go. And we simply put them in.

What with the sameness of houses nowadays, I think this is important. Allows people a little individuality.

And allows me to price the houses a little more competitively."

British Gypsum Internal Walls

If you'd like to tell a similar story to Mr. Whittingham, we'll send you a copy of an independent report reprinted from "Building" magazine.

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سكنى من الاصل

Atticus

The Anguilla Story

a word about the show: *The Anguilla Story*, now in its third great it the Empire, was first conceived by impresario H. Wilson (seeking he up losses on *Tiger Talk*, an everyday tale of Rhodesian folk). It based on an original idea by William Whitlock; but it was Wilson's touch, sending in gunboats and bobbies to invade a tiny Caribbean that turned it into a masterpiece. This anatomy of a Whitehall farce prepared by DAVID BLUNDY.

Inning
mp-ups

ONE can bring the cur-
own on this long-running
show (maintaining a
on sunny location in the
hold an costs the UK over
it comes on (year). It must be
somewhere. Heath's Minister
for the Colonies, who
Anguilla this morning.
Caribbean, politics is
Heather apparently has it
then, a fellow Tory MP,
regular visitor to the Lee-
lands, says that in the
you don't launch
into politics when you
You go for a swim with
the leader. You have some
a bloody good lunch,
why have a jump-up, and
shindig. It makes them
with some. If Whitlock had
Said to their hospitality,
Heather argue, he wouldn't
When bundled off the island
an. No hours, the incident
evoked the invasion two
Whitlock: "Not fair:
in jump-ups." I know. A year ago he had
and a shindig with Ronald
the Anguilla leader,
up with Robert Brad-
St Kitts PM, who's
a hostile and prickly
Bradshaw had such a
he be offered to pay
hotel bill.
Anguilla problem goes
Whitehall decision to
ogle administrative unit
s, and Nevis, two neigh-
lands, and Anguilla,
to the north, with its
population of 6,000.
elt about as pleased as
supporters might do if
to get news they'd been
with Everton and Liver-
y didn't want indepen-
these terms. They want
a colony, hence their
iden withdrawal from
tion, which prompted
m.
has little to show for
glorious British rule:
mains electricity, no
no telephones, few
ough it does have 27
Barclays Bank and
Scout movement.
il happen now? We're
ss resigned to having
ack, as long as it can
ith St Kitts' acquies-
Bradshaw has said
matically. If Godber
get round him, there
one monumental shin-
mp-ups down St Kitts
eck.

Kitted up

IF YOU CAN imagine Cassius
Clay as chairman of your local
council you may begin to get
local Caribbean politics in per-
spective. Robert Bradshaw, the
St Kitts PM, is very much larger
than life. He models himself on
an English country gentleman, a
sort of Caribbean Gerald Nabarro,
with a moustache to match (he
brushes it daily with a gold tooth-
brush). He drives a yellow, vin-
tage Rolls-Royce, and his hobby
is given as sartorial elegance.

He has a love/hate relationship
with Britain. Loves our tradi-
tions, hates us interfering with
his island. He's a former factory
sugar worker, who became a
union chief. He's been in power
fifteen years and was recently
swept back into office with a huge
majority though some critics
wondered why Bradshaw found it
necessary to have the ballot
boxes taken away in an armoured
car under military escort.

The Tory MP, Anthony Lamb-
ton (formerly Viscount) recalls a
disquieting interview with Brad-
shaw in St Kitts' government
office. Bradshaw was wearing
First World War breeches and
boots, a handkerchief across his
chest, a pair of binoculars round
his neck, and there was a rifle on

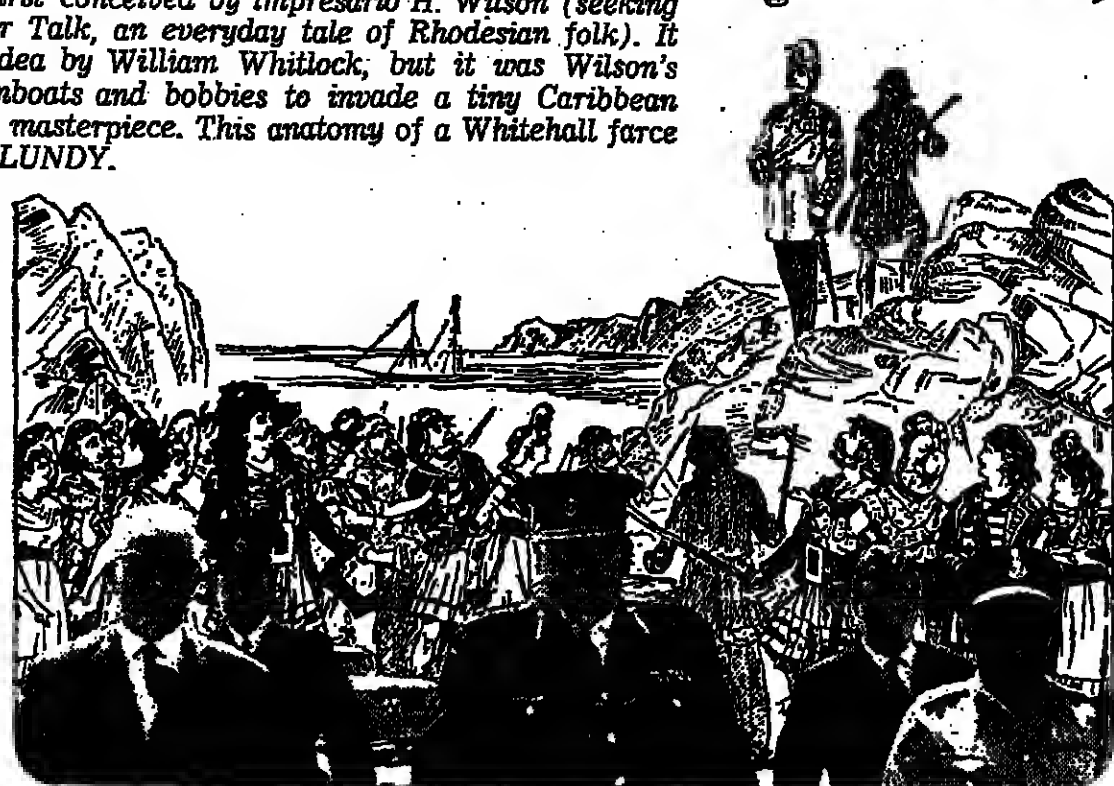
SATIRE: Robert Bradshaw has
obviously been following Britain's
South African arms deal with
interest. He recently asked the
British government to supply
him with a rocket launcher "for
internal security."

his desk." (His latest fad is wear-
ing American army fatigues.)
Bluff, not to say intimidation, is
a valid weapon in any Caribbean
leader's armoury, and Bradshaw
is famous for his threats about
Anguilla. He'd invade them. He'd
let them starve. They could suck
each other's bones. The Anguilla
leader, Ronald Webster, was then
their "defence minister," and
not above a little bluff either. He
put the word around they had an
American PT boat, an AA gun,
plus an arrangement with 6,000
American workers on a neigh-
bouring island who'd come to
Anguilla's defence. None of it
true. What he did do, though,
to deter Bradshaw from an air-
borne landing, was to put the
island's goats out to grass on
Anguilla's tiny airstrip.

If Bradshaw is a Cavalier,
Webster is more like a Round-
head. There's something of Crom-
wellian England about his
political meetings which begin
and end with prayers and a
rousing hymn. He's an ex-
Seventh Day Adventist preacher,
and he often says that Anguilla's
future is in God's hands.

God obviously has big plans for
Anguilla, because Webster is
always involved in one or an-
other ambitious scheme for the
island, whether it's turning the
island into a "flag of conveni-
ence" base for Greek oil
millionaires, or his latest, turning
the little runway into a Jumbo-
jet airport.

He's the sartorial opposite of
Bradshaw, and usually wears an
open-necked shirt and baggy
trousers. That's not to say he's
wholly informal. He asked the
British police not to go round
the island with their shirts off.



THE LOCAL RUM they brew in
the Caribbean islands packs such
a punch they call it Jack Iron.
A couple of years ago some
islanders on St. Vincent found a
45 gallon drum of thick, evil
smelling liquid washed up on a
beach. It looked, smelt and
tasted just like Jack Iron so they
drank the lot. Five of them died,
and thirty-six were taken to hos-
pital. The drum contained a
mixture of aviation fuel and
diesel oil.

Whitwash

ALTHOUGH NO Labour ministers
came out of the Anguilla affair
with credit, William Whitlock
must be the worst political
casualty, attacked by the Press,
lampooned by cartoonists, and in
the Commons still nicknamed
Old Flintlock. He's justifiably up-
set by the affair, and says it was
the unhappiest day of his life.
"It's such a piddling little place,
with a piddling little problem."

Now he's being blamed all over
again by the Americans; a novelist
called Donald E. Westlake is writ-
ing the first book about Anguilla
(*I Fear the Worst*) and in an
excerpt from the New York
Times Whitlock's clearly the
scapegoat. "He hasn't even been
in touch with me," says Whitlock
angrily. "It's all completely un-
true. It reads like fiction."

Whitlock is fifty-three, a former
Labour whip, a quiet man who
lives with his wife, five sons, and
two adopted daughters, in
Leicester. He looks distinguished
with a formal manner, and fine
hair the colour of beaten egg
white. He has paid the price for
being correct. The Government
asked him to keep quiet about the
affair, but his fellow politicians
did not, and when the Anguilla
leaders went to the UN and threw
mud a lot of it stuck. "They made
up the most incredible stories,"
says Whitlock. "They said I was
head of the Mafia. That I was
drunk on the island. They said I
was rude and discourteous. These
stories were beamed round the
world on Telstar, and I was mute."

Basically he finds Webster
erratic, cagey, inconsistent, and
he feels it is Bradshaw who is mis-
understood in Britain. "Bradshaw
says some pretty hellacious things,
and threatens to invade Anguilla
and so on, but I imagine Mr Heath
would have some strong words to
say if the Isle of Wight suddenly
declared itself independent."



William Whitlock: a piddling place, and a piddling problem

Acid trip

WHEN THE FIRST wave of
Metropolitan policemen landed in
Anguilla they got to work rooting
out the arsonists and murderers
Michael Stewart had warned them
about. They needn't have
bothered. The island's only sus-
pected murderer dropped into
police HQ on the first day. "I've
killed my girl friend," he said,
and went off home to bed. So he
had. But his charge was reduced
to manslaughter and they sent
him home for good with a con-
ditional discharge.

Anguilla must have the lowest
crime rate in the Metropolitan
area and it's hard to see why
thirty British policemen are still
pounding round their hot and
dusty beats. David Helm, our
jovial police chief here, boasts
that their crime detection rate is
a world record, 99 per cent. But
he admits there isn't much
crime to detect. "The Anguillians
are basically honest, law-abiding,
God-fearing people," he says.
Their only persistent vice is
letting their shoats (a cross be-
tween a sheep and a goat) wander
off onto their neighbour's land.
Sometimes neighbours retaliate
and cut down their paw-paw trees.

Helm is a large, pink man and
sometimes breaks into patriotic

songs when he's on duty in the
police station. One night, while
he was singing a verse of Land
of Hope and Glory, their only
prisoner was so moved that he
joined in. "We had a good even-
ing," says Helm. "He'd sing, one
song, then I'd sing another."

Helm used to be stationed in
Notting Hill, one of London's
toughest areas, and by compari-
son life in Anguilla is like being
a village policeman. His charge
book has some bizarre entries
such as: "Indecent assault while
watering the sheep."

Police enjoy Anguilla so much
that 75 per cent ask for a second
tour. But it's not all fun. When
a new batch of policemen arrived
on the island they stripped off all
their clothes and cavorted on the
silver sands. Then they playfully
pelted each other on the backside
with little green apples. Later
when huge blisters appeared they
learned that the apples are
called Manchineels. The juice
they exude is an unpleasantly
toxic acid.

Grey
hair?

AMAZING PROVEN
TREATMENT
RESTORES NATURAL
LOOKING COLOUR IN
ONLY 3 WEEKS

In only days you can look years
younger. Formula 16 is a safe,
scientific formula already proven
by thousands. Unlike other prepara-
tions, it is non-greasy. And unlike
dyes and rinses, Formula 16 condi-
tions your hair and restores your
natural looking colour—fair, red or
dark—from the actual roots. And
because it works gradually there is
no sudden embarrassing change of
colour.

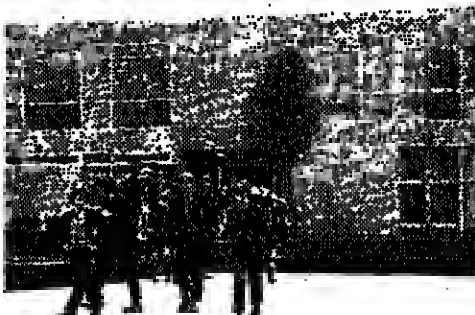
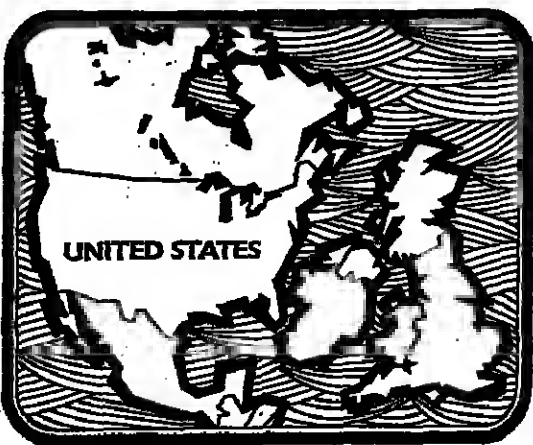
Formula 16 is ideal for both men
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Antiquated schools.
Schools bursting at the
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building to another.

Quite a problem.
But the school building
programme is now solving it, and often doing so faster
with help from Expanded Metal's ingenious prefabricated
interiors—walls, screens, pre-assembled door-sets.

Originally designed for CLASP and now also for
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Authorities, these interiors are both practical and
good looking. Winning marks for fire and sound rating
they save labour costs and precious time.

Clever stuff. But no more than you'd expect from
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pretty clever material.

What is it?

Quite simply, a sheet of metal
sheared and stretched to form
a continuous, jointless mesh.
A mesh whose weight per
square yard ranges from a few
ounces to half a hundredweight.



Where there can be anything
from 4,000 apertures to the
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Look around you.
See all that Expanded Metal
is doing and making today.

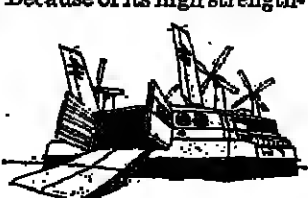
machinery guards, pedestrian
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grilles, griller grilles.

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SPECTRUM

MATHEMATICS

The Game of Life: is it just a game?

IN A CORNER of the computer room at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge, dwarfed by the keyboards, display screens and circuit cabinets of the PDP 7 computer, stands a small filing cabinet. Its shallow drawers are cluttered with what look like bus conductors' ticket rolls—except that these, being coded instructions to the computer, are punched with intricate designs. Most, on inspection, are junk: remnants of attempts to teach the machine noughts and crosses, or chess. One tape, however, is different: its title, simply and devastatingly, is LIFE.

The game called "Life" is the brainchild of John Horton Conway, a 33-year-old Cambridge mathematician. The simplest description of "Life" is to say that it's the most ingenious way of using tiddlywinks that has been found in years. And for anyone with a religious mania, it would seem ideal therapy, since it is a game which requires you to play God.

In the year or so since Conway invented it, "Life" has become a cult in the computer world—computers have taken over from Conway's original tiddlywinks. A newsletter is now devoted to the game in America. And it is a fair guess that "Life" has been responsible for more wasted computer time in the big businesses of Europe and America in the past year than any other single project. (Conway has heard it estimated that a million dollars worth of more or less illicit computer time must have gone into the game.)

But "Life" though it begins with tiddlywinks, ends in fact a very frightening game. For it

opens the door into an eerie world in which abstract mathematical concepts take tangible "life". It is that, if the computer playing the game were big enough, it would in the end throw up on the display screen an object possessing the critical property of life itself: the ability to reproduce. And these multiplying objects would survive as long as the computer continued to play—as long, in other words, as their universe existed. Moreover, these creations could in turn transform themselves—on pure random impulse—into the ultimate computer, the "universal calculator," the brain that could perform any desired calculation.

It remains, however, a game, so long as it is played on a computer or spread out on a chequered board covered in tiddlywinks. "The point," Conway says, "is that life is much simpler to create than we imagine."

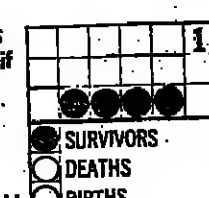
To play the game of "Life," take as big a sheet of graph paper as you can (each square should be large enough to take one counter). Scatter tiddlywinks on it. Now suppose that the paper is the "soup" in which, as we think, life originated on Earth. Suppose the tiddlywinks are the building-blocks of life—say, the amino-acids. Some of these blocks or "cells" will combine or "live"; some will disintegrate or "die." What laws will govern these fates? Play God: invent them.

Conway's genetic rules are remarkably simple, based on nothing more mystical than where the counters happen to lie in relation to one another. (You could work out your own rules,

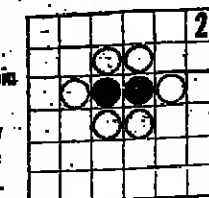


Kevin Brodie

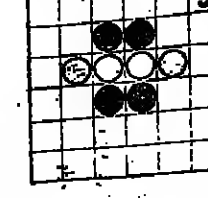
The rules say that if four counters fall together like this...



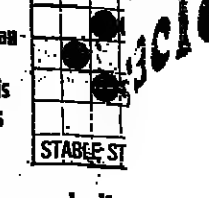
two die because they adjoint only one. Two new ones are born...



Births occur when a space adjoins three counters

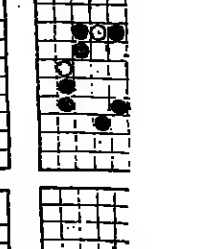
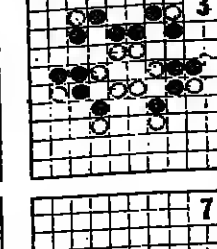
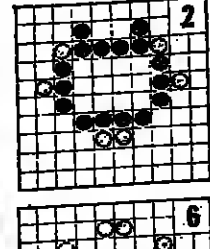
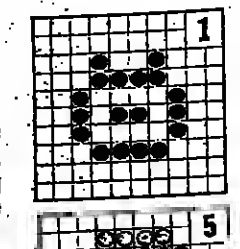


If a cell touches more than three it dies; this shape is stable.

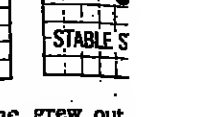
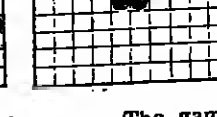
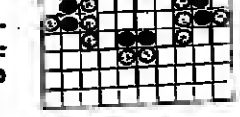


"Life" is a game which anyone can play. Cells, represented by counters, are born and die in isolation or overcrowding. But as the generations fly past, they seem to take on a life of their own.

One of the shapes that may appear as the game goes on is the "Cheshire Cat" (right). Cell formations suggest a cat's face which shrinks as the cells die off, until only a smile is left (fig. 8). Others might be like a rocket blasting away, leaving clusters of cells like clouds of trailing smoke.



The game's inventor, Cambridge Mathematician John Horton Conway (left): It is a game which requires you to play God.



but a lot of experimentation went into Conway's. His rules are:

Each counter is bounded by eight neighbouring squares.

Birth: Each empty square with exactly three counters neighbouring it will give birth.

Survival: Each counter with two or three neighbouring counters will survive.

Death: Each counter on its own, or with only one neighbour, will die of isolation. Each counter with four or more neighbours will die of over-population.

Now track what happens. And that is the game. Get tiddlywinks of, say, black and white. Scatter only black ones. Then, Conway suggests, you first identify which counters or "cells" will die. Put another black on top of each of these. Next, identify all the vacant squares where birth will occur. Put a white counter on these. Check. Then take away the dead cells, and replace the white counters with black ones. You now have a fresh generation.

Doing it this way stops muddle. The point is that births and deaths must happen simultaneously, so no newborn, white cells can play no part in causing deaths in the generation in which they are born.

The surprise is how beautiful the game is to watch—particularly sped several hundred times on the computer display screen. Immediately, patterns of cells grow across the board like Disneyland snowflakes. Will they survive? Apparently healthy patterns collapse, while tiny

clusters grow furiously. Sometimes, even, the whole population will die out. Most patterns, however, have two fates. They either reach a stable shape: the jargon of the game is already rich in terms like "beehive", "honey farm", "loaf" and "long boat" for these. Or they reach a shape which pulses in and out to a constant rhythm: shapes like the "traffic light", the "tumbler", the "barber pole" or the "kier oscillator".

The game transfers to a computer of course without difficulty.

Indeed, exploring the 2000th generation of a population with tiddlywinks really would need the patience of God.

When news of "Life" was first published in the Scientific American of October, 1970, and February and April this year, from which the patterns above are taken, Conway knew of what he called "gliders" and "space ships". These are clusters of cells which actually move across the board: travel into space, as it were, from one world to collide sometimes with another. If the cluster or world they hit is stable, the spaceships may inject life—or kill it.

But Conway thought it possible that no population could grow without limit; he offered a wager on the point. A group at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology won the bet. They found a cluster of cells that rhythmically produces and fires off spaceships, thus continually adding to the population.

At this point the game takes off into higher mathematics. And there is no point in pretending that the writer understands half of it. Talking to Conway is like listening to Danny Kaye's French: it sounds fine; you just can't grasp a word.

Apart from the 500 or so games he has invented, Conway is famous mainly for his work in the mathematics known as "group theory". (His most famous paper begins: "The group of the title is the group (called Q) consisting of those operations of the orthogonal group O(4) which preserve the remarkable lattice structure of the space-time continuum.") But his main interest lies in a proposition put forward 40 years ago by a great Austrian mathematician called Gödel, which set out the possible limits of any system of mathematical logic. It is, says Conway, the most impressive single statement I know.

The game grew out of only mathematicians' how. But the search and better tiddlywinks which would finally momentous step of the game, ever since mathematician called John Conway worked out the scale and structure of "self-replicating cellular automata." "Animals," way, "is a shorter way of it."

The important point ability to reproduce is to be a product simply. If you take a calculator, if you take a wire, solder them quite at random, and a current through, themselves will sort a pattern out of the ju are in, and will begin the functions of a bra But how complex do have to be? Neumi replicator involved ce: possible states of exi instance, Conway's only two states: full q Yet even so, Conway's clusters, played enough scale, could needed complexity, reckons that on a she paper whose sides w lion squares long, six would begin to form. ply. You would have you like, tiddlywink is, complicated than it re says Conway. "We h ments; but you only on and off. The p interests me is this, have those little self- things swimming arou computer screen, de quity when you machine off?"

THE HOME OFFICE has received an official report on drugs which contradicts assumptions about its own action-charged subject. The report, based on an expensive research project carried out by the Government Social Survey, does not support the popular "escalation theory" about the use of narcotics.

Yet it was precisely this theory which underpinned many of the official arguments for the Misuse of Drugs Act. The Act became law last month. The assumption has been that leniency on users of "soft drugs" like cannabis is ill-advised because it increases the risk of more people progressing to "hard" narcotics like heroin and morphine which are unquestionably harmful. The argument was succinctly put by the Home Secretary, Mr Reginald Maudling, in an interview with The Sunday Times two months ago, when he said that he could not foresee marijuana ever being legalised because "the evidence that soft drugs can lead users on to hard drugs is too compelling to be ignored."

This argument now appears to be out of date. The new survey, I understand, does not find the evidence compelling in relation to cannabis. It does, however, display much concern about soft drugs in the amphetamine or "pep-pill" categories.

One of its more intriguing studies is of the differing attitudes to the main drug categories among the public at large and those in the "drug scene". In the popular mind narcotic use, in order of ascending danger, starts with "pep-pills" and then graduates on through cannabis to LSD and ultimately heroin. In contrast, those familiar with drug experimentation consider cannabis the mildest substance and believe that it involves much less risk of progression than amphetamines.

The survey detected a marked difference in the personality traits of the regular cannabis user and the pep-pill enthusiast. The cannabis user was inclined to seek intellectual stimulus through the drug (he is usually more highly educated). The pep-popper, on the other hand, tended to be socially more inert and used drugs to enhance his physical activity, making himself feel stronger or more excited. Pill users, however, invariably found that their "kick" from amphetamines was progressively reduced as they built up tolerance to the drug's effect. It was this tolerance factor that produced a danger of progression to harder drugs. There was, however, little sign of any such danger associated with the use of cannabis.

International evidence also shows that there is no positive correlation between hard drug use and cannabis. In Hong Kong, which has the world's most

severe heroin problem, covocally no cannabis heroin addiction, a st addicts carried out i sixties showed that h had previously had cannabis.

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None of this endorses the argu "legalise pot" Job however, imply the Secretary and other the harsh peo ties cannabis users shoul arguments. Under legislation trafficking, makes an offender li sentence of up to 10 cates that illegal use is likely to be i than cannabis. I the consequences feared by some ex that it will encoura use at the expense practice, terms p illegal possession mines will be diffi simply because ther of these drugs law lation. "There is, i sure thing as lega cannabis.

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DRUGS

Pot fears queried by official report

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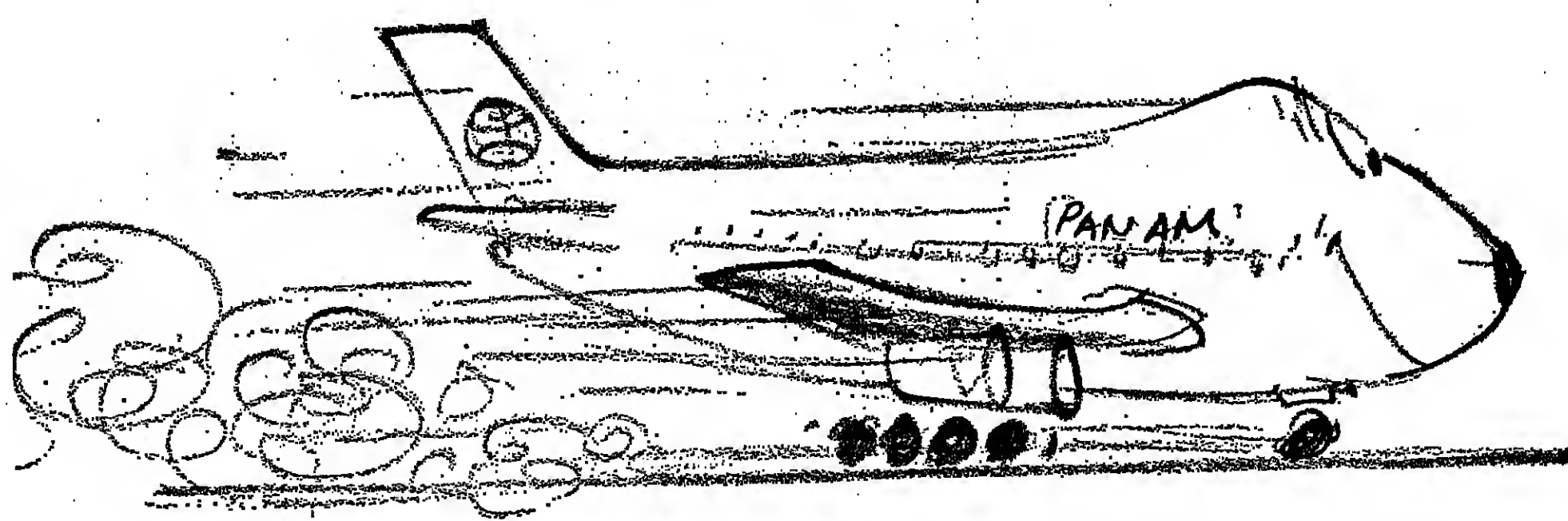
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سكنة من الاصل

etors ignore the 'Possum'

'The waste of miracle aid

OST RESPECTS Barbara Ford is an ordinary middle-aged housewife. She has a fine home in the Sussex countryside and a family of four. She is a smart woman with stylish clothes and immaculate grooming. A housekeeper to run the home and she part-time, from her sitting room, as a typist. Like all busy women she finds the days too long and the nights too short.

Mrs Pitchford is totally deaf from the waist up and to walk. At night she breathes with the help of a respirator.

More than a year after I had polio, all I could do was lie on a bed and stare at the ceiling. My life began when in November, 1966, I was awarded a Polio Fellowship from the Government.

The use of the Possum (or Patient Operated Selection) Mrs Pitchford, through a slight movement of her right foot, switches which control television, heat, light, telephone calls, switch an electric blanket on and off, read books, and call for help by means of a bell.

When she has only a slight movement in seven months, this movement has been the full and she can now sit up at home as an amputee. "So many people do not know that even if you are disabled you do not want a life of help," she says. "It is a feeling of independence, of achieving something, of doing a day's work, of feeling frustrated and I feel a sense of achievement."

Thousands of patients like Mrs Pitchford, the Possum would be something of a miracle. Yet despite the fact that it has been available since 1966, and equipment is issued free of charge to the Department of Health, it has not been used by many. A survey of doctors in this country shows that less than 5 per cent have any idea at all of the machine.

The Possum is an electric machine which enables disabled persons to control over electric and mechanical equipment. It has three main parts: the input by which means the transmits his requirements to the second section—a system. This converts his instructions into the action by the apparatus under control.

Input side is either by a mouth control, by a hand or pressure down

a tube, or by microswitches operated by any residual muscle power which the patient possesses, such as a flicker of movement in a toe or finger. The equipment operates from mains electricity supply but a stand-by battery is included in the design to provide emergency operation of essential functions in case of power failure.

Possum control systems can also be applied to the operation of other electrical equipment such as electric typewriters, calculating machines and tape recorders. If these are prescribed for educational purposes, the local authority bears the cost from its rate support grant from the Government. Extra specialised equipment, needed to help a disabled person to earn a living, is supplied by the Department of Employment.

This machine, technically further advanced than any other of its kind in the world, has few limitations. "We do not believe there is such a thing as 100 per cent disability," says Reg Maling, its inventor, who now runs the Possum Research Foundation at Aylesbury. "Everybody must have some residual movement, and the machine can be adapted to make full use of that movement."

Reg Maling thought of the idea in 1960 when he visited a completely paralysed patient in hospital to write his letters for him. "The only means of summoning help this person had was a whistle hanging from the ceiling, which he used to call nurses when he needed them. I realised that if he could blow the whistle then he could use this ability to operate more sophisticated machinery. Within a few weeks he could operate a tape recorder and fulfilled his ambition to write a book."

Six years later, with help from the Polio Research Fund, the machine was fully developed and was made available under the National Health Service. But the news appears to have percolated with agonising slowness.

We asked 40 doctors if they had ever had cause to prescribe Possum equipment. Most denied any knowledge of it at all. Answers ranged from "Don't even know what it is," by a Liverpool doctor, to one in London: "What is it? It's all Greek to me." (In fact "Possum" is the Latin word for "I am able.")

However, a Department of Health spokesman said last week: "Information about Possum has been given to all National Health Service doctors and hospital authorities; whose doctors are responsible, in collaboration with general practitioners and local authority doctors, for evaluating its suitability for individual patients."

Locally appears to be relevant in the distribution of Possum equipment. The London South West Metropolitan Regional Hospital Board has prescribed

THE DISABLED



more Possum machines than any other regional hospital board and last month again sent a circular letter to all its doctors describing the purpose of the unit and how it can be obtained. To date they have fitted 28 patients with "PSU 1" equipment—the Possum environmental controller.

But the Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern Boards of Scotland, and the Wessex Board in England, have yet to find one person eligible for a PSU 1.

"It is hard to reconcile the fact that these four Boards, covering a population of over 3 million, have not had one disabled person referred to them who could benefit from this equipment," says Mr Lewis Carter-Jones, Labour MP for Eccles, who has been vigorously campaigning in the House of Commons for the development of technical aids for the disabled. "Although the Possum machine can cost between £300 and £600, the saving to the taxpayer more than compensates for the cost of supplying a machine. It costs well over £100 a week to keep a patient in an intensive care unit of a hospital, but with the aid of Possum equipment, many hospitals are able to discharge patients to their own homes."

A doctor at the spinal injury centre in Cardiff, Rookwood Hospital, has been able to discharge six of the 24 patients in his intensive care unit. It was decided that

all six would benefit from, and be able to operate, a PSU 1. He commented yesterday: "I am at a loss to know why people do not know about it. It has been well publicised by the Department of Health."

Mr Duncan Guthrie, Director of the Central Council for the Disabled, commented that grants from the Central Council's sister organisation, the National Fund for Research into Crippling Diseases (formerly named the Polio Research Fund) had been made on the understanding that the Ministry of Health would watch the development closely.

He stressed the urgent need now for inexpensive control systems which would be invaluable for a very great number of elderly disabled people. "Relatively simple apparatus would mean that elderly disabled people could stay in their homes instead of being obliged to enter geriatric hospitals and other institutions which would save the country considerable sums of money." "I think that one must give credit to the Department of Health. Obviously they have to feel their way but they are gradually extending the range of aids for the disabled in an enlightened way."

The ignorance of doctors about Possum equipment reflects the general lack of information on the numbers of disabled in the

Mrs Pitchford (left) has movement in only seven of her fingers, but this is sufficient to activate the small micro-switches at her finger tips. Her fingers, moving up and down in combination or succession to each other, can produce a total of 64 different input instructions to her electric typewriter. The chart in front of Mrs Pitchford indicates which movements she has to make to produce any symbols on the typewriter, and these input instructions are carried to a small control unit (underneath the typewriter table) which, in turn, operates the standard electric typewriter. The "environmental controller" (PSU 1), which is worked in a similar manner to the typewriter system, is installed in Mrs Pitchford's bedroom. By means of this unit she can use the radio, television, micro-film, bell, telephone, buzzer, and emergency switch on heat, lights and an electric blanket. This unit she controls from her bed by residual movement in her toes

PSYCHOLOGY

Is petty theft an office perk?

IF YOU HAVE ever stuffed a handful of office paper-clips into your pocket, or helped yourself to a convenient packet of envelopes you have in your small way contributed to the estimated \$1 million which British firms lose every day to their light-fingered employees. You were not caught and you will probably do it again. But should your company deliberately turn a blind eye? Ought they in fact to regard petty larceny as a cheap and efficient method of "job enrichment"?

In the current issue of *Psychology Today*, Lawrence Zeithin, Professor of Industrial Psychology at City College, New York, argues that, "A little larceny can do a lot for employee morale."

Although, he says, the total amount stolen in the United States is large, the sum per individual employee is not, and in fact it works out at only about 30p a year. Zeithin, he says, to justify alienating your staff by recruiting more security men or installing closed-circuit television.

Most of the stealing is done by employees of retail organisations. Partly, says Zeithin, because most retail jobs are unappealingly repetitive and boring. Add to that the fact that the employee's salary is usually low and the customer is always right and it is

hardly surprising that dissatisfaction should be high.

Managements can improve the situation either by raising salaries or by improving work conditions. If they do neither, the dissatisfied employee will begin to get his own back, cheat the system, and pinch the goodies. Perhaps, says Zeithin, this is as it should be. "By permitting a controlled amount of theft, management can avoid reorganising jobs and raising wages. . . . Before deciding to minimise or eliminate employee theft, management should ask itself these four practical questions:

1. How much is employee theft actually costing us?
2. What increase in employee dissatisfaction could we expect if we controlled theft?



3. What increase in employee turnover could we expect?

4. What would it cost to build employee motivation up to a desirable level by conventional means of job enrichment or through higher salaries?"

"Unethical rubbish!" is the official reaction of most British retailers to this concept. And indeed Zeithin does admit that "ethically of course it would be more desirable for management to motivate employees by means other than inviting them into lives of petty crime."

John Lodge, director of Lodge Services, a security firm, thinks that the idea should be "knocked smartly on the head," that it is "the thin end of the wedge."

But the security firms would not be right out of work, for Zeithin suggests that the amount of theft be strictly controlled; any employee found to be stealing more than the management reckons to be economic should be given an informal warning signal to slow down.

Cheap and efficient though the idea may be as a "motivational tool" (Zeithin's expression) it does seem a little unfair. Unless all employees are equally dishonest some jobs are going to be enriched much more quickly than others. And what would happen to productivity deals?

William Shawcross

AVIATION

The man who killed VTOL

THE IDEA of vertical take-off aircraft flying from city-centre to city-centre is dead. And the man who has played a large part in killing it off is a quiet-spoken patent agent from Bournemouth.

Without any emotional demonstrations, placards, or demands for thousands of pounds to hack his fight, Mr Nigel Haigh, has forced the aircraft industry into submission. His only allies against the noise and fumes the aircraft would emit were a society he formed himself and a few experts. Now companies which have promoted the vertical take-off and landing (VTOL) aircraft for years are studying other projects. Instead of talking about "technological breakthroughs" they stress quietness. The word even goes into the title of the latest British Aircraft Corporation project, which is known as QSTOL—the quiet short take-off and landing aircraft.

Mr Haigh went into action only last year. He lives near Surrey Docks, and was appalled that such a large area of the city could be used for a noisy airport only two miles from the City of London and with great potential, was being proposed for Britain's first vertical take-off airport. He formed a local amenity group to

give weight to his case, but with a name like the Bournemouth and Rotherhithe Society it seemed unlikely to trouble the might of the aircraft industry.

Mr Haigh says: "I felt something had to be done. This is a fairly inarticulate area, and with the GLC and the Port of London interested in VTOL, I thought it would be approved before any local people realised the problems. It would bring. They wouldn't want to fly as quickly as possible to Paris every week and most of the jobs would be specialised and unsuitable for them."

Hawker Siddeley, the main promoters in Britain of VTOL aircraft, went down to Bournemouth in an effort to quell the society's fears. But Mr Haigh also invited television cameras, the Press, and Mr Geoffrey Holmes, chief public health inspector of Windsor, and a noise expert, to attend.

With stereo tape recorders, Hawker Siddeley simulated the noise people would suffer from

VTOL airliners. Mr Holmes measured the sound on his own noise meter then pointed out that the noise level demonstrated was well below the actual levels which the company's own calculations showed that people would suffer.

So the meeting only increased local people's fears, and by the end of last year, when secret plans for demonstration flights into Surrey Docks leaked out, the local council and MP, Mr Bob Mellish, were eager to lead the outcry. The plans involved only small, propeller-driven aircraft—but the flights never took place.

Mr Haigh's activities have found a weak point in the industry, which is perturbed by the rows over the Concorde's noise and the siting of London's third airport.

So, faced with the lack of financial backing from the Government, with the victory of the environment lobby over the third airport and with a huge row inspired by Mr Haigh wherever they go in London, Hawker Siddeley are backing down and, like their colleagues, talking of quieter engines as the essential ingredient of any future project.

Tony Dawe

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THE SUNDAY TIMES

Stop the killing

BY DEVOTING the whole of its centre pages to one article about East Pakistan, The Sunday Times has taken a considered and exceptional step. We have done so first because this is the fullest authoritative, first-hand account so far available of the acts and intentions of the central Pakistan Government in its eastern province. Secondly, because the story itself is so horrifyingly revealing about what the millions of refugees are fleeing from, that it needs to be told at length. The Sunday Times has checked as far as possible the accuracy of this report. But in any event, we have the fullest confidence in the integrity of our reporter, who has himself abandoned home and career in Pakistan to bring the news to the world.

The present crisis would never have arisen had it not been for Yahya Khan's commendable wish to end the military dictatorship in Pakistan by calling, last autumn, for general elections. The outlet for Bengali nationalism which those elections provided later lit the fire which has been so brutally extinguished. But long before that the seeds of disunity and dissension were sown when, in 1947, the State of Pakistan was created in two unequal sections. From that day to this, the Bengali people of East Pakistan have, justifiably, felt themselves to be the unequal partner, the poor relation in a state to whose general economy they in fact contribute a large part. Moreover, in the present welter of blood and persecution, the Bengalis themselves, as our story makes plain, must bear some responsibility for their acts of retributive violence against non-Bengalis.

But when all this has been said, there is no escaping the terrible charge of deliberate, premeditated extermination levelled by the facts against the present Pakistani Government. Yahya Khan may conceivably mean what he says when he speaks of a return to civilian rule and normality. But how, after what has happened, can the Pakistani Government persuade what is left of the Bengali leadership that they are brothers and equal members of the same nation?

With the Army still operating on a directive to enforce submission to the Central Government, there is the danger that if the Western Powers to whom Pakistan is now appealing for financial aid respond positively, that aid will contribute, directly or indirectly, to the army's gruesome operations. Yet totally to withhold this and other aid would simply condemn Pakistan to economic disintegration with all the extra human suffering involved.

The most hopeful formula is for the Western countries concerned, Britain among them, to make the grant of extra aid dependent upon Yahya Khan's readiness to institute a new deal for East Pakistan and specifically to ensure that his army desists from excesses. While the United Nations and the voluntary relief organisations should stand out for control over relief operations in East Pakistan, nothing can alter the fact that Pakistan is a sovereign country which cannot be forced to do what she does not want to do. The best, indeed the only safeguard, is to direct, wherever and whenever it is possible, the spotlight of publicity upon the words and deeds of the Pakistani Government in the hope that the pressure of world opinion will in the end have some effect.

Exactly what form a new deal for East Pakistan should take is very difficult to say. Whatever it is, it is unlikely that the bulk of the refugees now in India, most of them Hindus, will ever be willing to return to East Pakistan. In the present fog of war and atrocity, one thing stands out all too clearly. It is that Yahya Khan's terrible mistake, and its terrible consequences, have created a new area of instability in Asia and the world; an area comparable, and likely, in the future, to cause just as much misery to its inhabitants and concern to the outside world.

Happy birthday

FIFTY is an age when even the least introspective of men might be tempted to ask himself what he had so far achieved. The Duke of Edinburgh, bound by the gold chains of a constitutional monarchy, might incline to return a gloomy answer. He ought not. By hard work and hard listening, he has accumulated a remarkably accurate understanding of what life is like for a great many different kinds of people in Britain, and he has become a stimulus and a clearing-house for ideas which might improve its quality. These are undeniably useful functions. We wish the Duke well, and we hope to see him continue in them for many years yet.

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GENOCIDE

ABDUL BARI had run out of luck.

Like thousands of other people in East Bengal, he had made the mistake—the fatal mistake—of running within sight of a Pakistani army patrol.

He was 24 years old, a slight man surrounded by soldiers. He was trembling, because he was about to be shot.

"Normally we would have killed him as he ran," I was informed chattily by Major Rathore, the G-2 Ops. of the 9th Division, as we stood on the outskirts of a tiny village near Mudafarganj, about 20 miles south of Comilla. "But we are checking him out for your sake. You are new here and I see you have a squeamish stomach."

"Why kill him?" I asked with mounting concern.

"Because he might be a Hindu or he might be a rebel, perhaps a student or an Awami Leaguer. They know we are sorting them out and they betray themselves by running."

"But why are you killing them? And why pick on the Hindus?" I persisted.

"Must I remind you," Rathore said severely, "how they have tried to destroy Pakistan? Now under the cover of the fighting we have an excellent opportunity of finishing them off."

"Of course," he added hastily, "we are only killing the Hindu men. We are soldiers, not cowards like the rebels. They kill our women and children."

I WAS GETTING my first glimpse of the stain of blood which has spread over the otherwise verdant land of East Bengal. First it was the massacre of the non-Bengalis in a savage outburst of Bengali hatred. Now it was massacre, deliberately carried out by the West Pakistani army.

The pogrom's victims are not only the Hindus of East Bengal—who constitute about 10 per cent of the 75 million population—but also many thousands of Bengali Muslims. These include university and college students, teachers, Awami League and Left-Wing political cadres and every one of the army can catch of the 176,000 Bengali militarymen and police who mutinied on March 26 in a spectacular, though untimely and ill-starred bid to create an independent Republic of Bangla Desh.

What I saw and heard with unbelieving eyes and ears during my 10 days in East Bengal in late April made it terribly clear that the killings are not the isolated acts of military commanders in the field.

The West Pakistani soldiers are not the only ones who have been killing in East Bengal, of course. On the night of March 25—and this I was allowed to report by the Pakistani censors—the Bengali troops and paramilitary units stationed in East Pakistan mutinied and attacked non-Bengalis with atrocious savagery.

Thousands of families of unfortunate Muslims, many of them refugees from Bihar who chose Pakistan at the time of the partition riots in 1947, were mercilessly wiped out. Women were raped, or had their breasts torn out with specially-fashioned knives. Children did not escape the horror: the lucky ones were killed with their parents; but many thousands of others must go through what life remains for them with eyes gouged out and limbs roughly amputated. More than 20,000 bodies of non-Bengalis have been found in the main towns, such as Chittagong, Khulna and Jessore. The real toll, I was told everywhere in East Bengal, may have been as high as 100,000; for thousands of non-Bengalis have vanished without a trace.

The government of Pakistan has let the world know about that first horror. What it has suppressed is the second and worse horror which followed when its own army took over the killing. West Pakistani officials privately calculate that altogether both sides have killed 250,000 people—not counting those who have died of famine and disease.

Reacting to the almost successful breakaway of the provinces, which has more than half the country's population, General Yahya Khan's military government is pushing through its own "final solution" of the East Bengal problem.

"We are determined to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing off two million people and ruling the province as a colony for 30 years," I was repeatedly told by senior military and civil officers in Dacca and Comilla.

The West Pakistani army in East Bengal is doing exactly that with a terrifying thoroughness.

WE HAD BEEN racing against the setting sun after a visit to Chandpur (the West Pakistani army prudently stays indoors at night in East Bengal) when one of the jeeps (privates) crouched in the back of the Toyota Land Cruiser called out sharply: "There's a man running, Sahib."

Major Rathore brought the vehicle to an abrupt halt, simultaneously reaching for the Chinese-made light machine-gun propped against the door. Less than 200 yards away a man could be seen loping through the knee-high paddy.



by ANTHONY MASCARENHAS
(the background to the writing and publication of this remarkable report is told on Page One)

"For God's sake don't shoot," I cried. "He's unarmed. He's only a villager."

Rathore gave me a dirty look and fired a warning burst.

As the man sank to a crouch in the lush carpet of green, two jouvons were already on their way to drag him in.

The thud of a rifle butt across the shoulders preceded the questioning.

"Who are you?"

"Mercy, Sahib! My name is Abdul Bari. I'm a tailor from the New Market in Dacca."

"Don't lie to me. You're a Hindu. Why were you running?"

"It's almost curfew time, Sahib, and I was going to my village."

"Tell me the truth. Why were you running?"

Before the man could answer he was quickly frisked for weapons by a jouvan while another quickly snatched away his lungi. The skinny body that was hared revealed the distinctive traces of circumcision, which is obligatory for Muslims.

The truckloads of human targets

At least it could be plainly seen that Bari was not a Hindu.

The interrogation proceeded.

"Tell me, why were you running?"

By this time Bari, wild-eyed and trembling violently, could not answer. He buckled at the knees.

"He looks like a *fauji*, sir," volunteered one jouvan as Bari was hauled to his feet. (Fauji is the Urdu word for soldier; the army uses it for the Bengali rebels it is bounding.)

"Could be," I heard Rathore mutter grimly.

Abdul Bari was clouted several times with the butt end of a rifle, then ominously pushed against a wall. Mercifully his screams brought a young head peeping from the shadows of a nearby hut. Bari shouted something in Bengali. The head vanished. Moments later a bearded old man came haltingly from the hut. Rathore pounced on him.

"Do you know this man?"

"Yes, Sahib. He is Abdul Bari."

"Is he a *fauji*?"

"No, Sahib, he is a tailor from Dacca."

"Tell me the truth."

"Khuda Kassam (God's oath), Sahib, he is a tailor."

There was a sudden silence. Rathore looked abashed as I told him. "For God's sake let him go. What more proof do you want of his innocence?"

But the jouvons were apparently unconvinced and kept milling around Bari. It was only after I had once more interceded on his behalf that Rathore ordered Bari to be released. By that time he was a crumpled, speechless heap of terror. But his life had been saved.

Others have not been as fortunate.

For six days as I travelled with the officers of the 9th Division headquarters at Comilla I witnessed at close quarters the extent of the killing. I saw Hindus, hunted from village to village and door to door, shot off-hand after a cursory "short-arm inspection" showed they were uncircumcised. I have heard the screams of men bludgeoned to

death in the compound of the Circuit House (civil administrative headquarters) in Comilla. I have seen truckloads of other human targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them bawled off "for disposal" under the cover of darkness and curfew. I have witnessed the brutality of "kill and burn missions" as the army units, after clearing out the rebels, pursued the pogrom in the towns and the villages.

I have seen whole villages devastated by "punitive action."

And in the officers mess at night I have listened incredulously as otherwise brave and honourable men proudly chewed over the day's kill.

How many did you get?

The answers are seared in my memory.

ALL THIS is being done, as any West Pakistani officer will tell you, for the "preservation of the unity, the integrity and the ideology of Pakistan." It is, of course, too late for that. The very military action that is designed to hold together the two wings of the country, separated by a thousand miles of India, has confirmed the ideological and emotional break. East Bengal can only be kept in Pakistan by the heavy hand of the army. And the army is dominated by the Punjabis, who traditionally despise and dislike the Bengalis.

The break is so complete today that few Bengalis will willingly be seen in the company of a West Pakistani. I had a distressing experience of this kind during my visit to Dacca when I went to visit an old friend. "I'm sorry," he told me as he turned away, "things have changed. The Pakistan that you and I knew has ceased to exist. Let us put it behind us."

Hours later a Punjabi army officer, talking about the massacre of the non-Bengalis before the army moved in, told me: "They



General Tikka Khan, East Bengal's military governor.

have treated us more brutally than the Sikhs did in the partition riots in 1947. How can we ever forgive or forget this?"

The honours-crushing military operation has two distinctive features. One is what the authorities like to call the "cleansing process": a euphemism for mass-sacre. The other is the "rehabilitation effort." This is a way of describing the moves to turn East Bengal into a docile colony of West Pakistan. These commonly used expressions and the repeated official references to "miscreants" and "infiltrators" are part of the charade which is being enacted for the benefit of the world. Strip away the propaganda, and the reality is colonisation—and killing.

The justification for the annihilation of the Hindus was paraded by Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the military governor of East Pakistan, in a radio broadcast I heard on April 18. He said: "The Muslims of East Pakistan, who had played a leading part in the creation of Pakistan, are determined to keep it alive. However, the voice of the vast majority had been suppressed through coercion, threats to life and property by a vocal, violent and aggressive minority, which forced the Awami League to adopt the destructive course."

Others, speaking privately, were more blunt in seeking justification.

"The Hindus had completely undermined the Muslim masses with their money," Col. Naqvi of 9th Division headquarters told me in the officers mess at Comilla. They bled the province white. Money, food and produce flowed across the borders to India. In some cases they made up more than half the teaching staff in the colleges and schools and sent their own children to be educated in Calcutta. It had reached the point where Bengali culture was in fact Hindu culture, and East Pakistan was virtually under the control of the Mawlawi businessmen in Calcutta. We have to sort them out to restore the land to the people, and the people to their faith."

Or take Major Bashir. He came up from the ranks. He is SSO of the 9th Division at Comilla and he boasts of a personal bodycount of 28. He had his own reasons for what has happened. "This is a war between the pure and the impure," he informed me over a cup of green tea. "The people here may have Muslim names and call themselves Muslims. But they are Hindus at heart. You won't believe that the *maulvi* (mulla) of the Cantonment mosque here issued a *fathwa* (edict) during Friday prayers that the people would attain *jannat* (paradise) if they killed West Pakistanis. We sorted the bastard out and we are now sorting out the others. Those who are left will be real Muslims. We will even teach them Urdu."

Everywhere I found officers and men fashioning imaginative garments of justification from the fabric of their own prejudices. Scapegoats had to be found to legitimise, even for their own consciences, the dreadful "solution" to what in essence was a political problem: the Bengalis won the election and wanted to rule. The Punjabis, whose ambitions and interests have dominated government policies since the founding of Pakistan in 1947, would brook no erosion of their power. The army backed them up.

Officials privately justify what has been done as a retaliation for the massacre of the non-Bengalis before the army moved in. But

events suggest that the result was not the result of a spontaneous or undisciplined reaction. planned.

It seems clear that "sorting-out" began to be planned about the time that Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan took over the governorship of East Bengal. Ahsan, the military co-there, from the scholarly Sahibzada Khan. That was beginning of March, when Mujibur Rahman's civil disobedience movement was gaining momentum after the moment of the assembly from which the Bengalis for so much. President Khan, it is said, acquiesced to the tide of resentment caused by the increasing domination of the West Pakistani stationed in East Bengal. Dacca continues to dominate the Central Government. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the Khans are not a common surname in Pakistan.

When the army units far in Dacca on the evening of 25, in pre-emptive strikes the mullin planned for the hours of the next morning of them carried lists of people liquidated. These include Hindus and large numbers of students, Awami League professors, journalists and who had been prominent in Mujib's movement. The now publicly made, that I was subjected to mortar from the Jaganath Hall, a Hindu university student hardly justifies the oblige two Hindu colonies, built the temples on Ramna and a third in Shkrepa heart of the old city. No explain why the sizeable populations of Dacca and the surrounding industrial town yanganj should have been completely during the 7 clock curfew on March 2. There is similarly no trace of Muslims who were not during the curfew hour people were eliminate planned operation: an in response to Hindu a would have had vastly results.

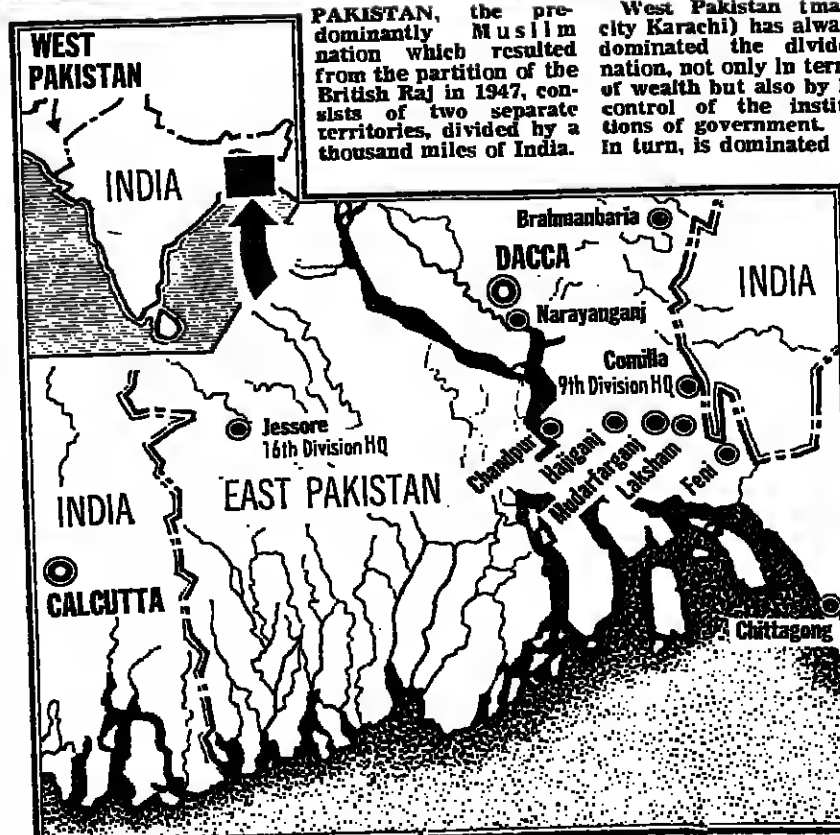
A pencil flick a man 'dispc

Touring Dacca on a found the beads of foul lying rotting on the road Iqbal Hall hostel. The said they had been killed night of March 25. I heavy traces of blood of staircases and in four of Behind Iqbal Hall a large building seemed to be singled out for special at the army. The walls with bullet holes and a still lingered on the although it had been powdered with DDT. I said the bodies of 23 children had been carted hours before. They composing on the March 25. It was only questioning that I ascertain that the victim to the near-by Hindu They had sought the building as the army's

THIS IS GENOCIDE with amazing casualties in the office of Mr. Martial Law. At of Comilla City, on the April 19, I saw the off-in which sentences were A Bihar sub-inspector had walked in with

continued on next

THE POLITICS EXPLAINED: WHY YAHYA SENT IN THE TROOPS



PAKISTAN, the predominantly Muslim nation which resulted from the partition of the British Raj in 1947, consists of two separate territories, divided by a thousand miles of India.

West Pakistan (main city Karachi) has always been dominated by the Bengalis, with their own distinct Bengali language, covers an area less than a fifth the size, but has a somewhat larger population than West Pakistan. Most of the nation's Hindu minority of around eight million was concentrated in East Pakistan.

Towards the end of the 1950s the discontent of the impoverished Bengalis of East Pakistan found expression in the rapid growth of the Awami League. This is devoted to achieving some degree of independence from West Pakistan. Its leader was Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

With the resignation in March, 1970, of Pakistan's military dictator, Ayub Khan, came the Awami League's chance. Ayub Khan's successor, General Yahya Khan, determined to hand over power to a democratically elected civilian government, which would draw up a new constitution. On the principle of "one

man one vote," East Pakistan would gain a dominant say in the government, because of its greater population.

This was the subsequent course of events: DECEMBER 7, 1970: The Pakistan general elections gave Sheikh Mujib the Awami League 157 out of the 159 East Pakistan seats in the constituent assembly—an absolute majority for the whole of Pakistan. This put them within easy reach of winning home rule for the Bengalis.

FEBRUARY 13, 1971: President Yahya Khan announced that the constituent assembly will meet on March 3. FEBRUARY 15: Z. A. Bhutto, leader of the majority party in West Pakistan, said he would boycott the assembly unless there was a prior agreement between East and West on a constitutional formula.

MARCH 1: Yahya postponed the assembly meeting. Increasingly, calls for a fully independent Bengali state

In East Bengal I heard from Sheikh I only for obedience

MARCH 5: Yahya as a assembly

MARCH 7: he was unless withdrawal

MARCH 8: stand to control Chittagong pation mutiny.

MARCH 9: Bengalis troops elsewhere started non-Ben

MARCH 10: many to leave

MARCH 11: 9th and down to time

MARCH 12: wave of time of refugees cholera refugee

مكتبة الأصيل

سكنا من الاصل

Don McCallin

WHY THE REFUGEES FLED: the first full eye-witness report of the horror when the troops went into E. Pakistan

...ers being held in the police up. Agha looked it over. With a flick of his pencil, he ticked off four names on a list.

ring these four to me this for disposal," he said. He d at the list again. The pencil once more. "... and bring brief along with them."

death sentence had been unced over a glass of coconut I was informed that two of risoners were Hindus, the a "student" and the fourth wami league organiser. The t transpired, was a lad Sebastian who had been moving the household of a Hindu friend to his ouse.

er that evening I saw these their hands and legs tied y with a single rope, being own the road to the Circuit compound. A little after v, which was at 6 o'clock, a of squawking mynah birds disturbed in their play by the king sound of wooden clubs ng bone and flesh.

AIN AZMAT of the Baluch ent had two claims to fame ing to the mass hunter. One s job as ADC to Major-Gen. at Raza commanding officer 9th Division. The other was on him by his colleagues' g.

at, it transpired, was the fier in the group who had ide a "kill." Major Bashir d him mercilessly.

me on Azmat," Bashir told e night, "we are going to a man of you. Tomorrow ll see how you can make un. It's so easy."

underscore the point Bashir nto one of his long spiels. from his duties as SSO, was also "education officer" dquarters. He was the only f officer I found who could Bengali fluently. By general ent Bashir was also a self- ore who gloried in the of his own voice.

art walla (bearded man), re told, had come to see that morning to inquire his brother, a prominent League organiser of Comilla d been netted by the army days earlier. *Dhor gaya*, said he told him: "he has ay." The old man couldn't hend how his brother could escaped on a broken leg. could I. So Major Bashir, broad wink, enlightened me. record would show *Dhor* "shot while escaping."

ER DID find out whether Azmat got his kill. The Bengali forces who bad dug

Lt-Col. Baig was a popular artillery officer who had done a stint in China after the India-Pakistan war when units of the Pakistan army were converting to Chinese equipment. He was said to be a proud family man. He also loved flowers. He told me with unconcealed pride that during a previous posting at Comilla he had brought from China the giant scarlet water-lilies that adorn the pond opposite headquarters. Major Bashir adored him. Extolling one officer's decisiveness, Bashir told me that once they had caught a rebel officer there was a big fuss about what should be done with him. "While the others were telephoning all over for instructions," he said, "he solved the problem. *Dhor gaya*. Only the man's foot was left sticking out of the ditch."

IT IS HARD to imagine so much brutality in the midst of so much beauty. Comilla was blooming when I went there towards the end of April. The rich green carpet of rice paddies spreading to the horizon on both sides of the road was broken here and there by bright splashes of red. That was the *Gol Mohor*, aptly dubbed the "Flame of the Forest," coming to full bloom. Mango and coconut trees in the villages dotting the countryside were heavy with fruit. Even the tier-sized goats skipping across the road gave evidence of the abundance of nature in Bengal. "The only way you can tell the male from the female," they told me, "is that all the she-goats are pregnant."

Fire and murder their vengeance

In one of the most crowded areas of the entire world—Comilla district has a population density of 1,900 to the square mile—only man was nowhere to be seen.

"Where are the Bengalis?" I had asked my escorts in the strangely empty streets of Dacca a few days earlier. "They have gone to the villages," was the stock reply. Now, in the countryside, there were still no Bengalis. Comilla town, like Dacca, was heavily shelled. And in ten miles on the road to Laksham, past silent villages, the peasants I saw could have been counted on the fingers of both hands.

There were, of course, soldiers—hundreds of unsmiling men in khaki, each with an automatic rifle. According to orders, the rifles never left their bands. The roads are constantly patrolled by tough, trigger-happy men. Wherever the army is, you won't find Bengalis. Martial law orders, constantly

had escaped before the army came. Others, like the man among the coconut trees, were slow to get away.

As we drove on, Major Rathore said. "They brought it on themselves." I said it was surely too terrible a vengeance on innocent people for the acts of a handful of rebels. He did not answer.

A FEW HOURS later when we were again passing through Hajiganj on the way back from Chandpur, I had my first exposure to the savagery of a "kill and hum mission."

We were still caught up in the aftermath of a tropical storm which had hit the area that afternoon. A heavy overcast made ghostly shadows on the mosque towering above the town. Light drizzle was beginning to wet the uniforms of Captain Azhar and the four *jowans* riding in the exposed escort jeep behind us.

We turned a corner and found a convoy of trucks parked outside the mosque. I counted seven, all filled with *jowans* in battledress. At the head of the column was a jeep. Across the road two men, supervised by a third, were trying to batter down the door of one of more than a hundred shuttered shops lining the road. The studded teak wood door was beginning to give under the combined assault of two axes as Major Rathore brought the Toyota to a halt.

"What the hell are you doing?" The tallest of the trio, who was supervising the break-in, turned and peered at us. "Mota" (Fatty) he shouted, "what the hell do you think we are doing?"

Recognising the voice, Rathore grew a water-melon smile. It was, he informed me, his old friend "Ify"—Major Ifikhar of the 12th Frontier Force Rifles.

Rathore: "I thought someone was looting."

Ifikhar: "Looting? No. We are on kill and burn."

Waving his hand to take in the shops, he said he was going to destroy the lot.

Rathore: "How many did you get?"

Ifikhar smiled bashfully.

Rathore: "Come on. How many did you get?"

Ifikhar: "Only twelve. And by God we were lucky to get them. We would have lost those, too, if I hadn't sent my men from the back."

Prodded by Major Rathore, Ifikhar then went on to describe vividly how after much searching in Hajiganj he had discovered twelve Hindus hiding in a bouse on the outskirts of the town. These had been "disposed of." Now Major Ifikhar was on the second part of his mission: burn.

By this time the shop's door had

At this point Rathore was beginning to get anxious about the gathering darkness. So we drove on.

When I chanced to meet Major Ifikhar the next day he ruefully told me, "I burnt only sixty bouses. If it hadn't rained I would have got the whole bloody lot."

Approaching a village a few miles from Mudarfarganj we were forced to a halt by what appeared to be a man crouching against a mud wall. One of the *jowans* warned it might be a *fauji* sniper. But after careful scouting it turned out to be a lovely young Hindu girl. She sat there with the placidity of her people, waiting for God knows who. One of the *jowans* had been ten years with the East Pakistan Rifles and could speak bazaar Bengali. He was told to order her into the village. She mumbled something in reply, but stayed where she was, but was ordered a second time. She was still sitting there as we drove away. "She has," I was informed, "nowhere to go—no family, no home."

Major Ifikhar was one of several officers assigned to kill and burn missions. They moved in after the rebels had been cleared by the army with the freedom to comb-out and destroy Hindus and "miscreants" (the official jargon for rebels) and to burn down everything in the areas from which the army had been fired at.

This lanky Punjabi officer liked to talk about his job. Riding with Ifikhar to the Circuit House in Comilla on another occasion he told me about his latest exploit. "We got an old one," he said. "The bastard had grown a beard and was posing as a devout Muslim. Even called himself Abdul Manan. But we gave him a medical inspection and the game was up."

Ifikhar continued: "I wanted to finish him there and then, but my men told me such a hastyard deserved three shots. So I gave him one in the balls, then one in the stomach. Then I finished him off with a shot in the head."

When I left Major Ifikhar he was headed north to Brahmanbaria. His mission: another kill and burn.

OVERWHELMED WITH TERROR, the Bengalis have one of two reactions. Those who can run away just seem to vanish. Whole towns have been abandoned as the army approached. Those who can't run adopt a cringing servility which only adds humiliation to their plight.

Chandpur was an example of the first.

In the past this key river port on the Meghna was noted for its thriving business houses and gay life. At night thousands of small country boats anchored on the river's edge made it a fairland of lights. On April 18 Chandpur was deserted. No people, no boats. Barely one per cent of the population had remained. The rest, particularly the Hindus who constituted nearly half the population, had fled.

Weirdly they had left behind thousands of Pakistani flags fluttering from every house, shop and rooftop. The effect was like a national day celebration without the crowds. It only served to emphasise the haunted look.

The flags were by way of insurance.

Somehow the word had got around that the army considered any structure without a Pakistani flag to be hostile and consequently to be destroyed. It did not matter how the Pakistani flags were made, as long as they were adorned with the crescent and star. So they came in all sizes, shapes and colours. Some flaunted blue fields, instead of the regulation green. Obviously they had been hastily put together with the same material that had been used for the blue Bangla Desh flag. Indeed blue Pakistani flags were more common than the green. The scene in Chandpur was repeated in Hajiganj, Mudarfarganj, Kasha, Brahmanbaria; all ghost towns gay, with flags.

A 'parade' and a knowing wink

Laksham was an example of the latter reaction: cringing.

When I drove into the town the morning after it had been cleared of the rebels, all I could see was the army and literally thousands of Pakistani flags. The major in charge there had camped in the police station, and it was there that Major Rathore took us. My colleague, a Pakistani TV cameraman, had to make a propaganda film about the "return to normalcy" in Laksham—one of the endless series broadcast daily showing welcome parades and "peace meetings."

I wondered how he could manage it, but the Major said it would be no sweat. "There are enough of these bastards left to put on a good show. Give me 20 minutes."

Lieutenant Javed of the 39th Baluch was assigned the task of rounding up a crowd. He called out to an elderly bearded man who had apparently been brought in for questioning. The man, who later gave his name as Moulana Said Mohammad Saidul Hug, insisted he was a "staunch Muslim Leaguer and not from the Awami League." (The Muslim League led the move-



Two who escaped: at a refugee camp 50 miles from Calcutta. At first both Hindu and Muslim families fled, but as the Army's grip tightened the waves of refugees became increasingly Hindu

ment for an independent Pakistan in 1947.) He was all too eager to please. "I will very definitely get you at least 60 men in 20 minutes," he told Javed. "But if you give me two hours I will bring 200."

Moulana Saidul Hug was as good as his word. We had hardly drunk our fill of the deliciously refreshing coconut milk that had been thoughtfully supplied by the Major when he heard shouts in the distance. "Pakistan zindabad!" "Pakistan army zindabad!" "Muslim League zindabad!" they were chanting. (Zindabad is Urdu for "Long live!") Moments later they marched into view, a motley crowd of about 50 old and decrepit men and knee-high children, all waving Pakistani flags and shouting at the top of their voices. Lt. Javed gave me a knowing wink.

Within minutes the "parade" had grown into a "public meeting" complete with a make-shift public address system and a rapidly multiplying group of would-be speakers.

Mr Mahbub-ur-Rahman was pushed forward to make the address of welcome to the army. He introduced himself as "N.F. College professor of English and Arabic, who had also tried for History and is a life-time member of the great Muslim League Party."

Introduction over, Mahbub-ur-Rahman gave forth with gusto. "Punjabis and Bengalis," he said, "had united for Pakistan and we had our own traditions and culture. But we were terrorised by the Hindus and the Awami Leaguers and led astray. Now we thank God that the Punjabi soldiers have saved us. They are the best soldiers in the world and heroes of humanity. We love and respect them from the bottom of our hearts." And so on, interminably, in the same vein.

After the "meeting" I asked the Major what he thought about the speech. "Serves the purpose," he said, "but I don't trust that hastyard. I'll put him on my list."

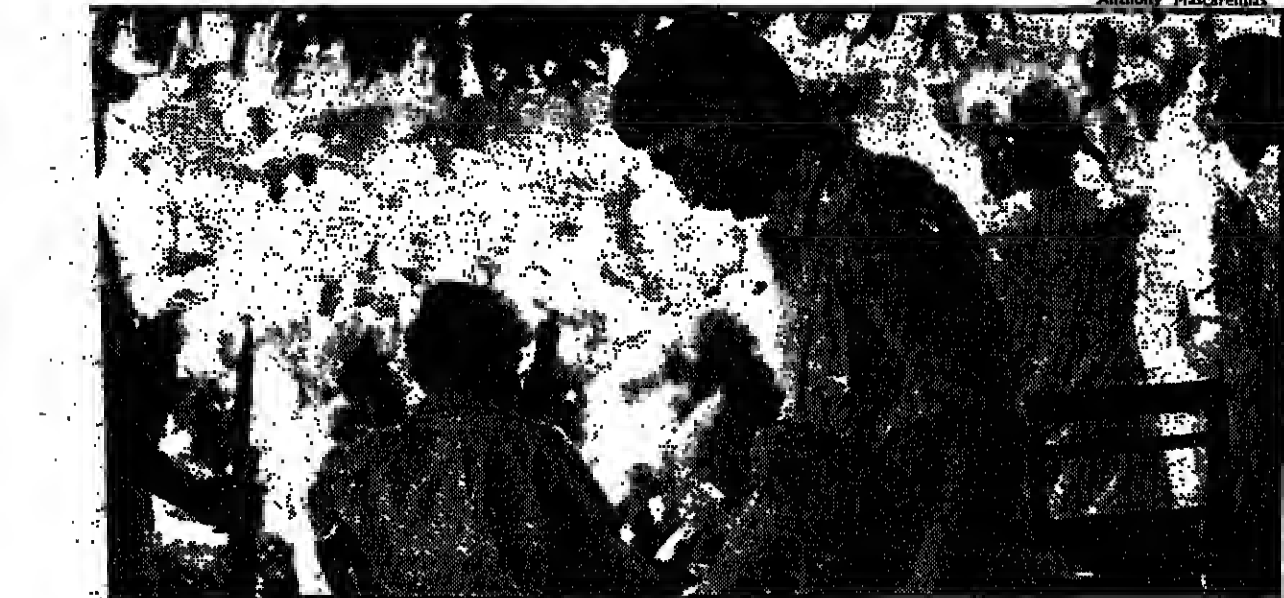
THE AGONY of East Bengal is not over. Perhaps the worst is yet to come. The army is determined to go on until the "clean-up" is complete. So far the job is only half done. Two divisions of the Pakistan Army, the 9th and the 16th, were flown out from West Pakistan to "sort out" the Bengali rebels and the Hindus. This was a considerable logistical feat for a country of Pakistan's resources. More than 25,000 men were moved from the west to the east. On March 28 the two divisions were given 48 hours notice to move. They were brought by train to Karachi from Kharian and Multan. Carrying only light bed rolls and hattle packs (their equipment was to follow by sea) the troops were flown out to Dacca by PIA, the national airline. Its fleet of seven Boeings was taken off international and domestic routes and flew the long haul via Ceylon continuously for 14 days. A few Air Force transport aircraft helped. The troops went into action

immediately with equipment borrowed from the 14th Division which till then constituted the Eastern Command. The 9th Division, operating from Comilla, was ordered to seal the border in the east against the movement of rebels and their supplies. The 16th Division, with headquarters at Jessore, had a similar task in the Western sector of the province. They completed these assignments by the third week of May. With the rebels—those who have not been able to escape to India—boxed in a ring of steel and fire, the two army divisions are beginning to converge in a relentless comb-out operation. This will undoubtedly mean that the terror experienced in the

border areas will now spread to the middle. It could also be more painful. The human targets will have nowhere to run to.

On April 20 Lt-Col. Baig, the flower-loving G-1 of the 8th Division, thought that the comb-out would take two months, to the middle of June. But this planning seems to have misfired. The rebel forces, using guerrilla tactics, have not been subdued as easily as the army expected. Isolated and apparently unco-ordinated, the rebels have nonetheless bogged down the Pakistan Army in many places by the systematic destruction of roads and railways, without which the

continued on next page



A few pictures the troops allowed Mascarenhas to take: the phoney "peace rally" at Laksham, up for Pakistani TV, and described on this page

... seventy miles north of e on the highway to had tied down the 9th y destroying all the id culverts in the area. aza was getting hell from mmand at Dacca which us to have the south- der sealed against escap- e. It was also desperately pen this only land route orth to have been pulled at had been piling up t at Chittagong.

al Raza was understand- sh. He flew over the t daily. He also spent aguing the brigade that down at Feni. Captain usual, was the General's did not see him again. rience is any pointer, ably had to sweat out and the ragging—for ee weeks. It was only at the 11th Division was ar Feni and the sura- ea. By then the Bengali ed out by relentless d artillery barrages, had h their weapons across uring border into India. e of such large numbers rd-core regulars among rebels was a matter of ern to Lt-Col. Aslam at 9th Division head- "The Indians," he yll obviously not allow tle there. It would gerous. So they will in on sufferance as y keep making sorties order. Unless we can e we are going to have ble for a long time."

repeated on the radio and in the Press, proclaim the death penalty for anyone caught in the act of sabotage. If a road is obstructed or a bridge damaged or destroyed, all houses within 100 yards of the spot are liable to be demolished and their inhabitants rounded up.

The practice is even more terrible than anything the words could suggest. "Punitive action" is something that the Bengalis have come to dread.

We saw what this meant when we were approaching Hajiganj, which straddles the road to Chandpur, on the morning of April 17. A few miles before Hajiganj, a 15-foot bridge had been damaged the previous night by rebels who were still active in the area. According to Major Rathore (G-2 Ops.) an army unit had immediately been sent out to take punitive action. Long spirals of smoke could be seen on all sides up to a distance of a quarter of a mile from the damaged bridge. And as we carefully drove over a bed of wooden hoards, with which it had been hastily repaired, we could see houses in the village on the right beginning to catch fire.

At the back of the village some *jowans* were spreading the flames with dried coconut fronds. They make excellent kindling and are normally used for cooking. We could also see a body sprawled between the coconut trees at the entrance to the village. On the other side of the road another village in the rice paddies showed evidence of the fire that had gutted more than a dozen bamboo and mat huts. Hundreds of villagers

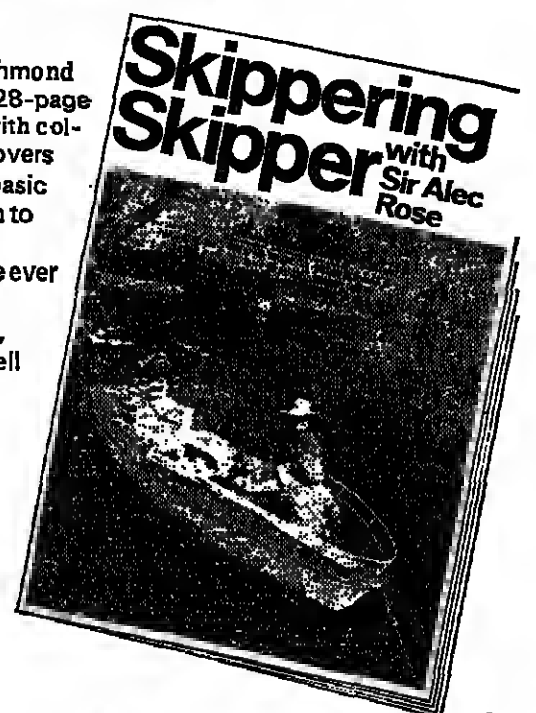
been demolished and we found ourselves looking into one of those tiny catch-all establishments which, in these parts, go under the title "Medical & Stores." Under the Bengali lettering the signboard carried in English the legend "Ashok Medical & Stores." Lower down was painted "Prop. A. M. Bose." Mr Bose, like the rest of the people of Hajiganj, had locked and run.

In front of the shop a small display cabinet was crammed with patent medicines, cough syrups, some bottles of mango squash, imitation jewellery, reels of coloured cotton thread and packets of knicker elastic. Ifikhar kicked it over, smashing the light wood-work into kindling. Next he reached out for some jute shopping bags on one shelf. He took some plastic toys from another. A bundle of bandkerchiefs and a small bolt of red cloth joined the pile on the floor. Ifikhar heaped them all together and borrowed a box from one of the *jowans* sitting in our Toyota. The *jawan* had ideas of his own. Jumping from the vehicle he ran to the shop and tried to pull down one of the umbrellas hanging from the low ceiling of the shop. Ifikhar ordered him out.

Looting, he was sharply reminded, was against orders. Ifikhar soon had a fire going. He threw burning jute bags into one corner of the shop, the bolt of cloth into another. The shop began to blaze. Within minutes we could hear the crackle of flames behind shuttered doors as the fire spread to the shop on the left, then on to the next one.

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WHY THE REFUGEES FLED

continued from preceding page

army cannot move. The 9th Division for one was hopelessly behind schedule. Now the monsoon threatens to shut down the military operation with three months of cloudbursts.

For the rainy season, the Pakistan Government obtained from China in the second week of May nine shallow-draught river gunboats. More are to come. These 80-ton gunboats with massive firepower will take over some of the responsibilities hitherto allotted to the air force and artillery, which will not be as effective when it rains. They will be supported by several hundred country-craft which have been requisitioned and converted for military use by the addition of outboard motors. The army intends to take to the water in pursuit of the rebels.

Colonisation of East Bengal

There is also the clear prospect of famine, because of the breakdown of the distribution system. Seventeen of the 23 districts of East Pakistan are normally short of food and have to be supplied by massive imports of rice and wheat. This will not be possible this year because of the civil war. Six major bridges and thousands of smaller ones have been destroyed, making the roads impassable in many places. The railway system has been similarly disrupted, though the government claims it is "almost normal".

The road and rail tracks between the port of Chittagong and the north have been completely disrupted by the rebels who held Feni, a key road and rail junction, until May 7. Food stocks cannot move because of this devastation. In normal times only 15 per cent of food movements from Chittagong to upcountry areas were made by boat. The remaining 85 per cent was moved by road and rail. Even a 100 per cent increase in the effectiveness of river movement will leave 70 per cent of the food stocks in the warehouses of Chittagong.

Two other factors must be added. One is large-scale hoarding of grain by people who have begun to anticipate the famine. This makes a tight position infinitely more difficult. The other is the government of Pakistan's refusal to acknowledge the danger of famine publicly. Lt-Gen. Tikka Khan, the military governor of East Bengal, acknowledged in a radio broadcast on April 18 that he was gravely concerned about food supplies. Since then the entire government machinery has been used to suppress the fact of the food shortage. The reason is that a famine, like the cyclone before it, could result in a massive

outpouring of foreign aid—and with it the prospect of external inspection of distribution methods. That would make it impossible to conceal from the world the scale of the pogrom. So the hungry will be left to die until the clean-up is complete.

Discussing the problem in his plush air-conditioned office in Karachi recently the chairman of the Agricultural Development Bank, Mr. Qarni, said bluntly: "The famine is the result of their acts of sabotage. So let them die. Perhaps then the Bengalis will come to their senses."

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S East Bengal policy is so apparently contradictory and self-defeating that it would seem to justify the assumption that the men who rule Pakistan cannot make up their minds. Having committed the initial error of resorting to force, the Government, on this view, is stubbornly and stupidly muddling through.

There is, superficially, logic in this reasoning. On the one hand, it is true that there is no let up in the reign of terror. The policy of subjugation is certainly being pursued with vigour in East Bengal. This is making thousands of new enemies for the Government every day and making only more definitive the separation of the two wings of Pakistan.

On the other hand, no government could be unaware that this policy must fail. (There are just not enough West Pakistanis to hold down the much greater numbers in East Bengal indefinitely.) For hard administrative and economic reasons, and because of the crucial consideration of external development assistance, especially from America, it will be necessary to achieve a political settlement as quickly as possible. President Yahya Khan's Press conference on May 25 suggests that he acknowledges the force of these factors. And he said he would announce his plan for representative government in the middle of June.

All this would seem to indicate that Pakistan's military Government is moving paradoxically, in opposite directions, to compound the gravest crisis in the country's 24-year history.

This is a widely held view. It sounds logical. But is it true?

My own view is that it is not. It has been my unhappy privilege to have had the opportunity to observe at first hand both what Pakistan's leaders say in the West, and what they are doing in the East.

I think that in reality there is no contradiction in the Government's East Bengal policy. East Bengal is being colonised.

This is not an arbitrary opinion of mine. The facts speak for themselves.

The first consideration of the

army has been and still is the obliteration of every trace of separatism in East Bengal. This proposition is upheld by the continuing slaughter and by everything else that the government has done in both East and West Pakistan since March 25. The decision was coldly taken by the military leaders, and they are going through with it—all too coldly.

No meaningful or viable political solution is possible in East Bengal while the pogrom continues.

The crucial question is: will the killing stop?

I was given the army's answer by Major-General Shaikat Raza, commanding officer of the 9th Division, during our first meeting at Comilla on April 16.

"You must be absolutely sure," he said, "that we have not undertaken such a drastic and expensive operation—expensive both in men and money—for nothing. We've undertaken a job. We are going to finish it, not band it over half done to the politicians so that they can mess it up again. The army can't keep coming back like this every three or four years. It has a more important task. I assure you that when we have got through with what we are doing there will never be need again for such an operation."

Major-General Shaikat Raza is one of the three divisional commanders in the field. He is in a key position. He is not given to talking through his hat. Significantly, General Shaikat Raza's ideas were echoed by every military officer I talked to during my 10 days in East Bengal. And President Yahya Khan knows that the men who lead the troops on the ground are the *de facto* arbiters of Pakistan's destiny.

The single-mindedness of the army is underscored by the military operation itself. By any standard, it is a major venture. It is not something that can be switched on and off without the most grave consequences. The enormous financial outlay already made on the East Bengal operation and its continuing heavy cost also testify to the Government's determination. The reckless manner in which funds have been poured out makes clear that the military hierarchy, having taken a calculated decision to use force, has accepted the financial outlay as a necessary investment. It was not for nothing that 25,000 soldiers were airlifted to East Bengal, a daring and expensive exercise. These two divisions, the 9th and the 16th, constituted the military reserve in West Pakistan. They have now been replaced there by expensive new recruitment.

Army committed to remain

The army has already taken a terrible toll in dead and injured. It was privately said in Dacca that more officers have been killed than men and that the casualty list in East Bengal already exceeds the losses in the India-Pakistan war of September, 1965. The army will certainly not write off these "sacrifices" for illusory political considerations that have proved to be so worthless in the past.

Militarily—and it is soldiers who will be taking the decision—to call a halt to the operation at this stage would be indefensible. It would only mean more trouble with the Bengali rebels. Improbable hatred has been displayed on both sides.



At Bodortala hospital, Bashirahat, India: a Hindu child who was shot in both legs while fleeing the country with his mother. His father was shot dead.

There can be no truce or negotiated settlement; only total victory or total defeat. Time is on the side of the Pakistan Army, not of the isolated, unco-ordinated and ill-equipped rebel groups. Other circumstances, such as an expanded conflict which takes in other Powers, could of course alter the picture. But as it stands today the Pakistan Army has no reason to doubt that it will eventually achieve its objective. That is why the casualties are steadily accepted.

Because of the mutiny, it has been officially decreed that there will not for the present be any further recruitment of Bengalis in the defence forces. Senior Air Force and Navy officers, who were not in anyway involved, have been moved "as a precaution" to non-sensitive positions. Bengali fighter pilots, among them some of the aces of the Air Force, had the humiliation of being grounded and moved to non-flying duties. Even PIA air crews operating between the two wings of the country have been strained clean of Bengalis.

The East Pakistan Rifles, once almost exclusively a Bengali paramilitary force, has ceased to exist since the mutiny. A new force the Civil Defence Force, has been raised by recruiting Biharis and

The Chinese have helped with equipment, which is pouring down the Karakorum highway. There is some evidence that the flood is slowing down: perhaps the Chinese are having second thoughts about their commitments to the military rulers of Pakistan. But the Pakistan government has not hesitated to pay cash from the bottom of the foreign exchange barrel for more than \$1-million-worth of ammunition to European arms suppliers.

Conversations with senior military officers in Dacca, Rawalpindi and Karachi confirm that they see the solution to this problem in the speedy completion of the East Bengal operation, not in terms of a pull-out. The money required for that purpose now takes precedence over all other governmental expenditure. Development has virtually come to a halt.

In one sentence, the government is too far committed militarily to abandon the East Bengal operation, which it would have to do if it sincerely wanted a political solution. President Yahya Khan is riding on the back of a tiger. But he took a calculated decision to climb up there.

SO THE ARMY is not going to pull out. The Government's policy for East Bengal was spelled out to me in the Eastern Command headquarters at Dacca. It has three elements:

(1) The Bengalis have proved themselves "unreliable" and must be ruled by West Pakistanis;

(2) The Bengalis will have to be re-educated along proper Islamic lines. The "Islamisation of the masses"—this is the official jargon—is intended to eliminate secessionist tendencies and provide a strong religious bond with West Pakistan;

(3) When the Hindus have been eliminated by death and flight, their property will be used as a golden carrot to win over the underprivileged Muslim middle-class. This will provide the base for erecting administrative and political structures in the future.

This policy is being pursued with the utmost fanaticism.

Because of the mutiny, it has been officially decreed that there will not for the present be any further recruitment of Bengalis in the defence forces. Senior Air Force and Navy officers, who were not in anyway involved, have been moved "as a precaution" to non-sensitive positions. Bengali fighter pilots, among them some of the aces of the Air Force, had the humiliation of being grounded and moved to non-flying duties. Even PIA air crews operating between the two wings of the country have been strained clean of Bengalis.

The East Pakistan Rifles, once almost exclusively a Bengali paramilitary force, has ceased to exist since the mutiny. A new force the Civil Defence Force, has been raised by recruiting Biharis and

volunteers from West Pakistan. Biharis, instead of Bengalis, are also being used as the basic material for the police. They are supervised by officers sent out from West Pakistan and by secondment from the army. The new Superintendent of Police at Chandpur at the end of April was a Military Police major.

Hundreds of West Pakistani government civil servants, doctors, and technicians for radio, TV, and telephone services have already been sent out to East Pakistan. More are being encouraged to go with the promise of one- and two-step promotions. But one- and two-step promotions, in the transfer, when made, is oblique. President Yahya recently issued an order making it possible to transfer civil servants to any part of Pakistan against their will.

The universities 'sorted out'

I was told that all the Commissioners of East Bengal and the district Deputy Commissioners will in future be either Biharis or civil officers from West Pakistan. The Deputy Commissioners of the secessionist movement. In some cases, such as that of the Deputy Commissioner of Comilla, they were caught and shot. That particular officer had incurred the wrath of the army on March 20 when he refused to requisition petrol and food supplies "without a letter from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman".

The Government has also come down hard on the universities and colleges of East Bengal. They were considered the hot beds of conspiracy and they are being "sorted out". Many professors have fled. Some have been shot. They will be replaced by fresh recruitment from West Pakistan.

Bengali officers are also being weeded out of sensitive positions in the Civil and Foreign Services. All are currently being subjected to the most exhaustive screening.

This colonisation process quite obviously does not work even half as efficiently as the administration wishes. I was given vivid evidence of this by Major Agha, martial law administrator of Comilla. He had been having a problem getting the local Bengali executive engineers to go out and repair the bridges and roads that had been destroyed or damaged by the rebels. This task kept getting snarled in red tape, and the bridges remained unrepaired. Agha, of course, knew the reason. "You can't expect them to work," he told me, "when you have been killing them and destroying their country. That at least is their point of view, and we are paying for it."

CAPTAIN DURRANI, of the Baluch Regiment, who was in charge of the company guarding the Comilla airport, had his own methods of

dealing with the problem. "I told them," he said with refer to the Bengalis maintaining control tower, "that I will anyone something like Duranni had made good his shot. A few nights earlier, Duranni could have been a hero. I was told, Duranni had an claim to fame. He had been accounted for "more than men" while clearing the vi surrounding the airport.

The harsh reality of colonisation in the East is being carried out by a handful of Bengali weeks. President Khan and Lt-Gen. Tikka Khan were trying to get political in East Pakistan for what he doing. The results have not been satisfying. The support coming so far has been from like Moulvi Farid Ahmad Bengali lawyer in Dacca, Quadeer Chaudhary and Prof. Ghulam Azam of the Islami, all of whom were beaten in the General Election last December.

The only prominent person to emerge for this purpose was Mr. Nurul Amin, an old League and former Chief Minister of the Province who was only two non-Awami League elected to the National Assembly. He is now seventies. But even Nurul has been careful not to effusive. His two public statements to date have been concerned with the "Indian interference". Bengalis look with some few who "collaborate". Ahmad and Fazlul Chaudhury are painfully at this. Farid Ahmad makes of keeping his windows shut and only those who have scrutinised and recognised a peephole in the front door allowed into the house.

By singularly blunt methods Government has been able a grudging acquiescence. Awami Leaguers who have elected to the national a vincal assemblies. They are kept on ice in Dacca, secluded but their immediate for the big occasion when tentative government" is installed. But clearly they represent no one but the

ABDUL BARI the tailor lucky to survive, is 24 years. That is the same age as I country together by force. meaning of what it has East Bengal is that the d men who hoped in it they were founding a nation in two equal parts faded. There is now little for a long time to come Punjab in the West and in the East will feel the equal fellow-citizens of on For the Bengalis, the future bleak: the unhappy subman a colony to its conqueror.

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General and Public Appointments

PRODUCT MANAGER

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The successful candidate is likely to be a graduate in the 25-30 age group. Certainly he will have gained a minimum of two years experience in the control of national grocery or catering products and will now be looking for greater responsibility. Successful experience of new product introductions would be considered a particular advantage.

Salary will be negotiable over £2,000 p.a.

For provided: contributory Pension and Life Assurance Scheme. Please write giving full details of career to date, including present salary to Box AB945.

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We are a successful and diversified Group operating mainly in the consumer durable field, with head offices situated in a pleasant rural area. Our expansion plans lead us to seek highly experienced candidates for this new appointment. Working within the Corporate Development department the successful candidate will initially assist in the identification of areas where O & M and Operational Research techniques will show benefits, and will subsequently establish a small but high powered department which will act as a consulting body to subsidiary Companies.

Candidates should be in the 30/40 age range, preferably graduates, with wide proven experience in O & M in a forward looking Company. A knowledge of statistics and experience in using O.R. techniques and E.D.P. facilities will be expected. The ability to communicate satisfactorily at senior management level is essential.

Salary negotiable in the range £3,500-£4,000 per annum. Company car, pension and B.U.P.A. schemes. Relocation assistance where necessary. Please write for an Application Form, initially giving brief relevant details of your career to Corporate Development Manager,

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Bridgnorth Road,
Wombourne, Wolverhampton.



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The estate currently has 8,600 acres under irrigation producing 30,000 tons sugar per annum and plans are now being formulated for this to increase substantially.

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The Company is both technically and managerially advanced in its practices and applicants for the position must possess an agricultural degree and a minimum of 8 years' experience in cane growing and irrigation.

The Zambia Sugar Company Limited is an associate company of Tate & Lyle Limited.

Applicants should write giving full details to:

The Manager,
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Tate & Lyle Limited,
21, Mincing Lane, London, E.C.3.

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Write in strictest confidence to:
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THE POLYTECHNIC OF NORTH LONDON

Holloway, London, N7 8DB.

Department of Physics

Applications are invited for the following appointments:—

● **RESEARCH FELLOW** to work either on high density computer techniques or on problems of very low background radioactive counting. Candidates should have a Ph.D. or equivalent industrial research experience. Salary will be £1,400-£1,575. In addition the Research Fellow is permitted to undertake a limited amount of teaching work in the Department for which payment is made.

● **RESEARCH ASSISTANTS** to work on digital techniques, high frequency studies of plasmas and techniques for nuclear and cosmic ray counting. Candidates are expected to register for a higher degree at the University of London and the C.N.A.A. The salary scale is £1,050 x £30 x £1,110 which includes payment for six hours teaching per week. Apply as soon as possible to the Head of the Department of Physics.

University of Strathclyde

Chair of Administration

Applications are invited for the Chair of Administration in the School of Business and Administration.

Applicants should be in possession of an Honours degree in Administration or a related discipline and should have experience in teaching and research in organisation and administration theory. A knowledge of industry or commerce, either as a manager or consultant would be an advantage.

The Department of Administration offers courses for the degree of B.A., B.A. with Honours and the degree of M.B.A. The salary for the post will be within the professional range for U.K. universities, with F.S.S.U.

Application forms and further particulars (quoting 34/71) may be obtained from the Registrar, University of Strathclyde, George Street, Glasgow, CI, with whom applications should be lodged by 17th July, 1971.

SENIOR MANAGEMENT ACCOUNTANT

The National Ports Council have an opportunity for a Senior Management Accountant to join a small team of duties mainly concerning the larger British ports. The successful candidate must be professionally qualified and have practical experience of budgetary control and costing systems, preferably within an integrated accounting system. He should be a graduate, aged 30-35, but candidates outside these age limits with particularly relevant experience including a proven record of ability to innovate and work independently, are invited to apply. The successful candidate will be responsible for the financial control of a large and complex organisation in a large category of consultancy role is essential.

Salary within the range £5,000-£5,750. Contributory pension scheme, with annual holiday. Location London, but some travelling to the ports will be necessary. Applications to Assistant Secretary, (Southampton), National Ports Council, 17 North Audley Street, London, W1V 1WE.

DIRECTOR

A national retail Baking Organisation, part of a public company, based in South London, are looking for an executive, who will be responsible to the Group Managing Director for the total administration and control of new systems which are being implemented as a result of explosive growth. The successful applicant will be under 40, and will have held a senior position in a large company. Experience in similar companies is less important than sound management training which must include finance control.

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A well-known light engineering company, which has several subsidiaries in Britain and Europe and profits of around £1m., requires a successor to the present Secretary who is retiring. The company's record is expansive and acquisitive, it is owned by a substantial British public group.

The Company Secretary will have assistance in his responsibilities for the normal statutory and associated headquarter duties. He will be personally involved in overseas operations and will be the board's adviser on the commercial/legal aspects of current commitments and future undertakings. He will continue the development and co-ordination of

central administrative policy and practice. The appointment should lead to wider delegated responsibilities and possibly a directorship. Headquarters are in a pleasant modern office block in Buckinghamshire.

Candidates should be aged 37-47 with several years' similar secretarial experience in an international company or group. Preference will be given to those who are legally qualified. A knowledge of French or German is desirable.

Starting salary negotiable around £5,000 p.a. with company car and excellent terms and other benefits.

Please write in confidence with relevant career details to H.C. Holmes, Managing Director, Bull Edington & Partners (Management Selection) Limited, 25/27 Oxford Street, London W1R 1RF, quoting reference 364.

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Northamptonshire NN9 7RL. Telephone: Wollaton 4381.

Interviews will be conducted in London on 6th and 7th July 1971 by an executive from South Africa.

Box No. 7400 should be addressed to THE SUNDAY TIMES, Thomson House, 200 Gray's Inn Road, London, WC1, unless otherwise stated. No original testimonials, references or money should be enclosed.

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Write for full details and an application form to be returned by 1st July to: Civil Service Commission, Almonck Link, Basingstoke, Hants. quoting reference 549/84.

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سكندرية

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1



Beatrix Potter aged 15 in 1881, aged 30 in 1896 and aged 72 in 1938. She died in 1943, but her books live on.

Who's afraid of Beatrix Potter?

WE long suspected Alao of being a fool, and having a critique of Beatrix Potter (week) I am convinced. It is his own "insecurity" that makes him see lurking in this particular. Most normal people, including my own, without fear or question accept the fact that the laws of nature decree that one species prey on another, simply to

waiting rooms of doctors would have been so full of children suffering nightmares about Mr Tod, etc., that public opinion would soon have killed the books off. But they have been in print now for sixty to seventy years and that, surely, is the real accolade, that countless millions throughout the world have accepted them with pleasure. (Miss) Joan Allen London SW7

I THINK Alan Brien is silly to be frightened by Beatrix Potter stories. They are good for children and I like them. Love, Catherine Ecclestone (6) Leeds 17

NOT HAVING read any Beatrix Potter, I don't feel competent to comment on Alan Brien's opinion that Graham Greene had his tongue in his cheek when he praised her. But I do wonder where Alan Brien's tongue is when he proceeds to write off Kenneth Grahame, A.A. Milne and (for good measure) Lewis Carroll, in ten short lines. Some check anyway! Frank Payne Leicester

Why blame Bellisario?

THE Director, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, is no evidence to support claims in Improvement (week) that oyster catchers in the Humber, nor that they killed the in Morecambe Bay. A range of other factors is involved, including changes in weather conditions, and unpredictable tides. Oyster catchers have been high in the available evidence, it is reasonable to argue that oyster catchers improve cockle catching and prevent overfishing. Peter Conder Sandy

If Bang

MY firm—Mayfair Catering Service—was the Book Bang, I feel comment on your "disaster" and B.S. Johnson's comment at the opening party. We fact "dare to call that but we did presume Bouffignonne only compliment B.S. who obviously doubts it and food spy, on his palate. Nick Reynold Edgware

For revenge

I concerning Hermann Hitler's brother-in-law (last week) is correct. He was on Hitler's orders: on 1945, nearly a year after 1944, plot. He was because he was a member of the Reich and attempted to flee in a bid to join his brother. The execution of Hitler's representatives was an act by Hitler against (Shirer: The Rise & Third Reich). M.G. Brewer Essex

Ice

like to point out that I possible for the title, "Ice in Perversion", are over the extracts introduction to E.M. unpublished novel (last week), perhaps was not to be seemed to me to be too belittling to the P.N. Furbank London, NW1

The dedicated consultants

From the Regional Hospitals Consultants and Specialists Association

THE ASSOCIATION which we represent welcomes the forthcoming investigation by a House of Commons sub-committee on the effects of private medicine on the National Health Service. It is regretted that a journal of your reputation should have given such prominence (last week) to allegations by Dr Katherine Bradley, Chairman of the Junior Hospital Doctors Association, that consultants are putting private practices first, before these allegations have been heard by the committee concerned.

We are confident that the findings of the committee will show that only an insignificant number of part-time consultants engage in the unethical practices which Dr Bradley lists. Unfortunately the report of the committee's findings will not correct the misleading impression of consultant practice which has been unjustly and undeservedly given by your article. We feel that this article is irresponsible in that it unjustly undermines the confidence of the public and diverts attention from the true problems facing the National Health Service.

We write to an attempt to correct such an impression of British medicine which, despite these allegations, still merits world confidence in its integrity. Because of this confidence, and to the great benefit of the public, overseas countries continue to supply over half the hospital doctors in the NHS for training under these much-maligned consultants. By far the large majority of consultants give a dedicated service to their patients, often in poor conditions and usually with an inadequate supporting staff.

Unlike Dr Bradley we do not believe that private practice is in competition with the NHS. On the contrary we believe that it indirectly supports this service in many ways.

The majority of part-time consultants are appointed around the age of 40, after a post-graduate training period of about 15 years. Their gross starting salary is £3,700 per annum—over £800 per annum less than that of a full-time consultant—and yet they bear continuous responsibility for the care of their NHS patients.

It is largely because of the fact that they have the opportunity to augment this salary by private practice that many of them choose to work on a maximum part-time basis within the NHS. There would be very few applications for consultant positions within the NHS were this facility not available. Thus successive Governments have depended on the large amount of voluntary overtime worked by part-time consultants to shore up the under-financed NHS.

Disonesty and immorality exist in the medical profession as in other walks of life. To imply that it is commonplace casts a slur not only upon consultants but upon the whole profession. Consultants, believe it or not, are drawn from amongst the junior hospital doctors.

S.C. Simmons, President
T.R. Beaton, Council member

DR KATHERINE BRADLEY misses one vital point. All patients in NHS hospitals by definition. Some NHS patients are prepared to pay a little more for privacy, convenience, and the man they know.

Even worse, as the NHS is financed almost entirely out of general taxation, the wealthier members of the community contribute more to the NHS even if they elect to be National Health or private patients.

This, I would have thought, was not parasitism but symbolism. A.N. Hill Beckenham

Cheap agents

From the Editor, The Houseowner

TELE INSIGHT Consumer Unit said: "Look last week's chat is little sign of change in estate agents' fees as the result of the new Government order banning scale charges."

Our researches point to a very different conclusion. While most respectable estate agents will always profess to stick to the old scale fees for selling houses, there is evidence that many agents are offering reduced fees on the quiet. A typical example is a couple who advertised their house privately and were immediately approached by three estate agents, two of whom quoted a fee well below the old official rate.

With the severe shortage of houses on the market, it is hardly surprising that some estate agents are quietly price-cutting. It is quite possible that when the market returns to some sort of normality, agents' fees will go up and not down, but as long as the present sellers' market prevails agents are bound to feel the discreet wind of competition around their empty books. Robin Liston London EC4

About time

NO ONE has ever suggested that time runs backward, yet when an event is postponed for, say, a fortnight it is said to be "put back". Time marches forward and a glance at the calendar will surely show that the date has moved in the same direction. E.S. Willson Richmond, Surrey

Everest doctors not soft

From the Senior Medical Officer to the International Himalayan Expedition 1971

MURRAY SAYLE'S final article on the International Himalayan Expedition reports Don Williams' assertion that the doctors were too soft in allowing people to go sick, thus contributing to the unsucces of the climb. This assertion is unjust and Williams' diagnosis of mass hypochondria ill-informed.

One of the major problems of this problem-fraught expedition was illness, which rose to such proportions that in early May—following the death of our Indian companion, the ensuing blizzard and the consequent lowering of morale and fitness—I decided to move all medical work down to our well-equipped hospital at Base Camp. Dr David Peterson

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General Appointments

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The Society is mainly engaged in retail trade over a wide area in South London and adjacent counties with annual sales of £50 million. Salary will be not less than £3,800 with a half-yearly bonus of 2½ per cent. Contributory pension scheme and other fringe benefits.

Applications, with full details of education, experience, present responsibilities and salary, to:

The Personnel Manager,
ROYAL ARSENAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.,
147 Powis Street, London, SE16 6JN.

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Age limits are flexible. The commencing salary will be negotiable in its relationship to qualifications. A Company car will be provided and there is a contributory pension scheme.

Applicants should write in confidence giving brief preliminary details and requesting a company application form, to:-

Personnel Director,
REMPLY LTD.,
415 Edgware Road, Crickwood,
London, NW2 6LR.

Remploy

COMMONWEALTH AGRICULTURAL BUREAUX

Scientific Information Officer

Commonwealth Bureau of Plant, Soil and Water Science, Harpenden, Herts. SG8 5AT. Qualifications: A degree in Botany, Biochemistry or Animal Science would be preferred. A reading knowledge of German or another foreign language is desirable. Ability to write good English is essential. Salary: In scale £1,164 to £3,048 (under review) plus an allowance of 4½% (taxable but not superannuable) to cover personal contributions for superannuation under FRS. Salary according to qualifications, experience and age. Two extra increments after 4 years' service for service for applicant aged 32 or under on date of appointment. Overtime: Scantling of hours for selection and abstracting of articles for publication in Daily Science Abstracts. Editing standard and literature. Application forms and full particulars from the Secretary, Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux, Farmington House, Royal Society, 212 3BN. Closing date for applications: 2 July 1971.

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This vacancy is open to candidates, aged 28-45, who have either a minimum of four years' practical underwriting experience, or who have a minimum of five years' practical experience gained as a deputy underwriter—and although they may not necessarily be in Lloyd's, they must understand the workings of the Lloyd's system. Responsibility will be to the Board, and will involve the management and control and profitability of the total underwriting function (including a small efficient team). A certain amount of travel to service agents in the U.K. will be necessary. Essential qualities are a strong commercial flair, sound judgment, and a positive well balanced manner. Initial salary: £4,000-£6,000 plus percentage of profits, plus car; contributory pension scheme; free life assurance; assistance with removal expenses if necessary. Applications in strict confidence, under reference M3129/57 to the Managing Director: CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON ASSOCIATES (MANAGEMENT RECRUITMENT CONSULTANTS) LTD., 35 NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON EC2M 2NH. TEL. 01-589 3588 or 01-438 0353.

ZAMBIA FLYING DOCTOR SERVICE

CHIEF PILOT

Required immediately for fleet of five Britten-Norman Islanders.

Applicants must have held a similar post, or have commensurate administrative experience. Considerable command experience is required and preferably possession of an A.T.P.L. with I/R. and a full Instructor's Rating.

Salary K7,040 per annum (K1=59 pence) with 25% gratuity at the conclusion of a two-year contract.

Free air passages for successful applicant, with fully-furnished accommodation at low rental.

Applications to:

Director,
Zambia Flying Doctor Service,
P.O. Box 1856,
NDOL,
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Administrative Assistant to Chairman

NEWALLS INSULATION CO. LTD.

—a challenging new opportunity of major importance to this member company of the Turner and Newall Group. Through liaison with directors and senior executives he will be closely involved in matters relating to profitability, management-control information, resource utilisation, commercial agreements and rationalisation—throughout the development, administration and organisation activities of the company.

The post is of managerial status but does not carry executive authority over staff. It does, however, offer excellent scope to learn and understand the problems of general management. Good career openings are foreseen either in the company or elsewhere in the Group.

Candidates, aged 25 to 40, with either professional accountancy qualifications or a degree, preferably in law or a numerate discipline, should have several years experience at management level. They will also possess imagination, initiative, tact and a strong functional interest in profitable commercial activity. An attractive salary will be negotiated; other benefits include relocation expenses.

Please write, giving brief career details, to:
A. Procter, Chairman and Managing Director,
Newalls Insulation Co. Ltd., Washington,
Co. Durham.

TURNER & NEWALL LIMITED

CONTROL DATA

Personnel Manager

about £4,000 p.a. plus car

Manufacturer of the world's largest computers—leader in providing total computer services to U.K.'s most sophisticated businesses and industry is seeking a growth oriented individual as Personnel Manager for its U.K. operations.

We pride ourselves in being a dynamic organisation and we are seeking a man who can play a key role as part of our management team.

Growth of our organisation assures a challenging and stimulating environment for a proven professional personnel man.

The successful applicant will be responsible for full range of personnel and employee activities including—

Recruitment, Employment and Staffing
Wage and Salary Administration—including Development of total Compensation Program
Manpower Planning
Management and Organisation Development
Communications and Training
Personnel Services and Records

The person we are seeking will have 4 to 6 years of professional personnel experience in a team oriented company. He must have proven success in recruiting professional, managerial and technical employees, and in addition he will have experience in several of the above areas.

To learn more about us and our current position please send a copy of your resume or curriculum in confidence to:

F. J. Boyle,
Control Data Limited,
22A St. James's Square,
London S.W.1.

CAN YOU INNOVATE?

CORPORATE PLANNING c.£4,000

Three new vacancies exist within an international and dynamic industrial marketing group, for high-calibre individuals looking for growth based on success.

PRICING MANAGER (27-32)
He analyses, interprets and acceptance of new and pricing proposals and strategies; reviews and guides the pricing of all products, peripheral and a He will be a pricing expert.

FINANCIAL MANAGER (27-32)
He supervises financial and physical performance and a demand, monthly; from this he reports and recommends future risks and opportunities to improve value planned and actual results.

PRODUCTION COSTS CONTROLLER (25-30)
He analyses, monitors production costs, efficiency, expenses supply and stock from monthly he reports and recommends future risks and opportunities to improve value planned and actual results.

The first two men will be Business Graduates or commercial success supervising M.B.A.s; the third, a Q Accountant, used to factories Accounting and cost accounting. International or European marketing experience in business environment will be an advantage.

Write or telephone Peter Somerville,
MANAGEMENT RESOURCES,
23 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Specialists in Management Appointments

General Sales Manager

Age 33-45

CHAMBERLAIN INDUSTRIES LTD.

HYDRAULIC ENGINEERS

The successful applicant will be responsible for the development of the fluid power market in expansion plans of one of Britain's leading hydraulic engineering companies.

The post calls for a team builder with ability to recruit, motivate and control the field sales force, and an efficient sales administration, which is forecasting, estimating and manufacturing authorisation.

Applicants should have a successful record the sale of technically sophisticated products industrial market, and of applying modern marketing and sales techniques in that setting.

The General Sales Manager will be well rewarded for achieving really satisfactory results.

Applications with details of experience, qualifications and present salary which will be treated in confidence should be sent to the Chairman, Chamberlain Industries Ltd., 132 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

ASSISTANT MARKETING MANAGER

required by an international company

serving the engineering and metal

industries of Spain and Portugal.

The responsibility of the position is for

strategic work at the Central Office in Valencia

liaison with the Member Companies at the

Offices in the Peninsula by route

other visits.

Applicants should be between 35 and 45

of age, possess fluent Spanish and have

earned several years marketing admini-

stration in the Steel and Metallurgical industry

or related engineering. An earlier

background would be an advantage.

Salary will be by negotiation. Applicant

should be treated in strict confidence and should

addressed to Box AY580.

For further details please write to:
F. B. Hill, Sales Director,
Parker Hannifin (UK) Limited,
Haydock Park Road, Derby, DE2 8JA.

PARKER HANNIFIN

Applications, quoting reference 13/

A.A.71, giving details of age, experience, present salary and qualifications, should be sent to the Chief Personnel Officer, South of Scotland Electricity Board, Cathcart House, Laverhall Avenue, Glasgow, S4 by 25th June, 1971.

Applications, quoting reference 13/

A.A.71, giving details of age, experience, present salary and qualifications, should be sent to the Chief Personnel Officer, South of Scotland Electricity Board, Cathcart House, Laverhall Avenue, Glasgow, S4 by 25th June, 1971.

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Electronics?

Want a great Management Opportunity?

Grab your D.P. Manager

and ask him about this.

Ask him to list the things that could revolutionize the Computer business. Probably at, or near, the top would be a machine capable of preparing raw data at source and pooling it or transmitting it to the computer. We've got it. Our Encoder—a terminal incorporating the latest solid state technology. Now at pre-production stage in Enfield, this, and other new products, will be transferred early next year to a site near Newcastle. Backed by the resources and marketing know-how of the international Rank Organisation, we can offer real pioneering scope to the high calibre management team who'll launch this exciting enterprise.

For this team we need:

Chief Test Engineer
Industrial Engineering Manager
Production Controller
Quality Controller

The ideal candidates will be well qualified in their respective fields and in their early 30's. Previous experience in a similar position in the electronics industry is essential—experience to the problems of start-up operating for high volume production highly desirable. Starting salary will be in the range £2,500 to £3,000 p.a. You'll be based initially at Enfield for product orientation and receive a subsistence allowance. Generous expenses will be paid on relocation to the new plant. Rented accommodation is readily available. And houses to buy are plentiful and relatively inexpensive in an area close to popular seaside resorts and unspoiled Northumberland countryside. Write to: John Raisin, Controller of Personnel, Rank ENM, Queensway, Enfield, Middlesex or telephone: 01-804 8121.

RANK ENM

TRAIN FOR MANAGEMENT

AND £3,000 P.A. IN YOUR TWENTIES

With 90 Chain Stores and a further 50 opening in the next few years, we need able and ambitious young men to join our Management Training Scheme in the next few months—men who are determined to succeed in a challenging and rewarding career and who are prepared to accept responsibility at an early age.

Previous experience is not essential as our Management Training Scheme is designed to equip a man to manage one of our stores in 4 to 5 years. All aspects of Chain Store Management are covered by Head Office courses and carefully planned practical training in a number of stores. Thus, trainees must be prepared to move frequently during training to gain experience of different trading conditions.

Starting salaries range from £900 p.a. at 18 to £1,250 p.a. at 21 and above £1,300 p.a. for graduates, and increases are given on promotion to successive levels of training. Promotion to manager brings a minimum salary of £2,250 p.a. and a successful man can expect to be earning at least £3,000 p.a. in his late twenties. Managers also receive a generous annual bonus and, if married, a modern Company house.

Interviews will be held in regional centres during June and July. If you are aged between 18 and 25, with a record of achievement at school, university or in a career, please write, giving brief details of age, education and job history to—

Michael Thompson (Ref. MT/1757), Management Appointments Officer, Littlewoods, 1M Centre, Old Hall Street, Liverpool 8.

Littlewoods

Overseas General Manager

Up to £8,500+ (negotiable)

Central Pacific Islands

We are looking for a General Manager for a newly created Development Authority. He will be responsible for an organisation already involved in wholesaler, merchandising, civil and mechanical engineering, copra plantations, ports and shipping as well as investigating and establishing new enterprises with economic potential. The Authority will play a key part in implementing national development policies.

The successful candidate will probably be between 35-45, with a proven managerial background in commerce. He must give imaginative and active direction to an organisation employing nearly a thousand, with a turnover in excess of £2,500,000. He must be familiar with modern management techniques, have a sound sense of political issues in a developing country, and be prepared to work in the mid-Pacific atolls of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony.

Please write for further details and application form, quoting reference M3C/710506/2L, to: The Crown Agents, "M" Division, 4, Millbank, London SW1.

A RARE OPPORTUNITY

We are looking for an exceptional fashion buyer who also has talent for design. He or she will be about twenty-five and will probably not be thinking of changing jobs. The following opportunities could change their mind.

1. The opportunity to start at the beginning of something big.
The first seven shops open in the autumn, and what we are planning is nothing less than a national chain.

2. The opportunity to have large scale financial backing.
This time you'll have full financial backing to buy what you think is right, to get manufactured anything that you can find.

3. The opportunity to make a good salary.
The person we need for this job is going to be good enough to want big money. That doesn't scare us. We'll mention £3,000 a year to give you some sort of scale. A car, of course, goes with the job.

4. The opportunity to operate within a large group.
The person we need for this job is going to be good enough to want big money. That doesn't scare us. We'll mention £3,000 a year to give you some sort of scale. A car, of course, goes with the job.

5. The opportunity to open up a whole new area of the fashion business.

This, perhaps is the biggest opportunity of all—the chance to do, and to make a reputation doing something quite new—a national chain of boyswear shops as exciting as anything anywhere in the world.

It needs someone very strong to take all the opportunities this job offers but if you're the right person you know very well that it's an opportunity you just can't miss.

Write giving all the details you think we need, to:

David L. Thomas,
Managing Director,
Boyswear Division,
THE BURTON GROUP LTD.,
214 Oxford Street,
London, W.1.

A place for you with the flying team?

To apply, you must have at least 5 acceptable O-levels, including English language and maths; or equivalent. With A-levels or a Degree you are all the more welcome. Age limits, 17 to 26th birthday.

Ask at your nearest RAF Careers Information Office—address in phone book—or send this coupon. There is no obligation.

To: Group Captain E. Bartelmer, RAF, Air Staff House (14/51) London, WC1X 8RU. Please send me information about flying careers in the RAF.

Name _____
Address _____
Date of birth _____

Write in capital letters and give your present and/or intended educational qualifications.

Royal Air Force

TECHNICAL AND MANUFACTURING DIRECTOR

Food Products

Expanding frozen and snack food company headquartered in Brussels requires experienced Technical and Manufacturing Director who will be responsible for the development, installation and maintenance of technical and manufacturing policies and programmes on a European basis.

Individual selected will develop new and improved manufacturing processes, provide direction to the manufacturing operations of subsidiaries, be responsible for quality control, purchasing activities, manpower and cost control, capital expenditures and equipment purchasing. Close working relationships with R & D staff will also be an important aspect of the position.

Training and experience in American-type industrial engineering, manufacturing environment is highly desirable. Must have knowledge of the food industry, particularly frozen foods, canned foods and baked goods. Should be willing to travel 50% of the time. Knowledge of German would be extremely helpful. Excellent compensation and benefits with good chance of advancement with major Europe-based American company.

Please reply to BOX AY579.

Navigator—
on £2,472
a year by 23

Time you had a better job?
They don't come better than this.

Obviously, any job that pays this kind of money takes some doing. If you are the stuff that RAF officers are made of, you will welcome this. It will bring out the best in you.

Suppose you are the navigator of a Buccaneer, the RAF's new long-range attack and strike aircraft. It is you who plans the detailed execution of the mission. You operate the radar navigation systems and computers. You set and monitor the vital attack-light. From a number of options, the weapons are selected and the mode of attack decided. If the weapon is the Marvel missile, you guide it to its target through a TV camera in the missile's nose.

Few jobs are as challenging and responsible as this. As an RAF navigator you are, in the fullest sense, a trained professional. Your prospects, your status, and your standard of living all reflect this.



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